PART II.—HISTORY.

THE EARLIEST USE OF IRON.

THE use of iron can be traced to the earliest ages of antiquity. It was first used in Asia, the birthplace of the human race, and soon after the time when "men began to multiply on the face of the earth." Tubal Cain, who was born in the seventh generation from Adam, is described as "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." The Egyptians, whose existence as a nation probably dates from the second generation after Noah, and whose civilization is the most ancient of which we have any exact knowledge, were at an early period familiar with the use of iron, and it seems probable that they were engaged in its manufacture. Iron tools are mentioned by Herodotus as having been used in the construction of the pyramids. In the sepulchres at Thebes and Memphis, cities of such great antiquity that their origin is lost, butchers are represented as using tools which archæologists decide to have been made of iron and steel. Iron sickles are also pictured in the tombs at Memphis, and at Thebes various articles of iron have been found which are preserved by the New York Historical Society and are probably three thousand years old. Kenrick, in his *Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs*, is authority for the statement that Thothmes the First, who reigned about seventeen centuries before Christ, is said, in a long inscription at Karnak, to have received from the chiefs, tributary kings, or allied sovereigns of Lower Egypt, presents of silver and gold, "bars of wrought metal, and vessels of copper, and of bronze, and of iron." From the region of Memphis he received wine, iron, lead, wrought metal, animals, etc. An expedition which the same king sent against Chadasha returned, bringing among the spoil "iron of the mountains, 40 cubes." Belzoni found an iron sickle under the feet of one of the sphinxes at Karnak, which is supposed to have been placed there at least six hundred years before Christ. A piece of iron was taken from an inner joint of the great pyramid at Gizeh in 1837. Both of these relics are in the British Museum. The reference to iron in Deuteronomy, iv. 20, apparently indicates that in the time of Moses the Egyptians were engaged in its manufacture, and that the Israelites, if they did not make iron for their taskmasters, were at least familiar with the art of manufacturing it. "But the Lord hath taken you, and brought you forth out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt." This expression is repeated in I. Kings, viii. 51. A small piece of very pure iron was found under the Egyptian obelisk which has recently been removed to New York.

The use of iron and the art of manufacturing it were introduced into the southern and western portions of Arabia at a very early day, and this may have been done by the Egyptians; it is at least established that some of their own works were located east of the Red sea. In 1873 the ruins of extensive iron works of great antiquity and of undoubted Egyptian origin were discovered near the Wells of Moses, in the Sinaitic peninsula.

The country which lay to the south of Egypt is supposed to have produced iron in large quantities. Iron was also known to the Chaldeans, the Babylonians, and the Assyrians, who were cotemporaries of the early Egyptians. Some writers suppose that the Egyptians derived their supply of iron principally from these Asiatic neighbors and from the Arabians. Babylon was built about seventeen centuries before Christ, and Nineveh was of about equal antiquity. Iron ornaments have been found in Chaldean ruins, and Chaldean inscriptions show that iron was known to the most ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia. In the ruins of Nineveh the antiquarian Layard found many articles of iron and inscriptions referring to its use. Among the articles discovered by him were iron scales of armor, from two to three inches in length. "Two or three baskets were filled with these relics." He also found "a perfect helmet of iron, inlaid with copper bands." In the British Museum there are preserved several tools of iron which were found at Nineveh by Layard, including a saw and a pick. The art of casting bronze over iron, which has only recently been introduced into modern metallurgy, was known to the Assyrians. At Babylon iron was used in the fortifications of the city just prior to its capture by Cyrus, in the sixth century before Christ. In a celebrated inscription Nebuchadnezzar declares: "With pillars and beams plated with copper and strengthened with iron I built up its gates." The huge stones of the bridge built by his daughter, Nitocris, were held together by bands of iron fixed in place by molten lead.

The *Book of Job*, which relates to a patriarchal period between Abraham and Moses, contains frequent references to iron, even to "bars of iron," "barbed irons," "the iron weapon," and "the bow of steel." In the 28th

chapter and 2d verse it is declared that "iron is taken out of the earth." In the 19th chapter and 24th verse the "iron pen," which could be used to engrave upon a rock, is mentioned. Job is supposed to have lived in the northern part of Arabia, in the Land of Uz, which was separated from Ur of the Chaldees, where Abraham was born, by the Euphrates. Iron ore of remarkable richness is still found between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt fifteen or sixteen hundred years before the Christian era. In the story of their wanderings iron is frequently mentioned. In Leviticus, vii. 9, the frying-pan is mentioned. When the Israelites under Moses spoiled the Midianites they took from them iron and other metals; when they smote Og, the king of Bashan, they found with him an iron bedstead. Canaan, the Land of Promise, was described by Moses in Deuteronomy, viii. 9, as "a land whose stones are iron." Iron is still made in the Lebanon mountains. In Deuteronomy, xxvii. 5, 6, and in Joshua, viii. 31, the use of iron tools in building an altar of "whole stones" to the Lord is prohibited, which shows that, not only did the Israelites in the days of Moses have a knowledge of iron tools that would cut stone, but that the Egyptians must have possessed the same knowledge. After the Israelites came into possession of Canaan iron is frequently mentioned in their history, some of the earliest references being to chariots of iron, which the Canaanites used in their wars with them, and which were probably armed with iron scythes. Chariots of the same kind were doubtless used by the Egyptians. Frequent mention is made of agricultural implements and tools of iron, and of iron weapons of war. In the description of the armor of Goliath it is said that "his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron." Axes and saws and harrows of iron are mentioned in the reign of David, and axes and hammers and tools of iron in the reign of Solomon. Isaiah also speaks of harrows of iron. Daniel says that "iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things." When David, about a thousand years before Christ, made preparations for the building of the temple he "prepared iron in abundance for the nails for the doors of the gates and for the joinings;" and in his instructions to Solomon concerning it he said that he had prepared "brass and iron without weight," and that of gold, silver, brass, and iron "there is no number."

It would appear that the Israelites in the early part of their history were not skilled in the manufacture or manipulation of iron, but were greatly dependent upon their neighbors for iron itself and for the skill to fashion it. In the reign of Saul, because of the oppression of the Philistines, "there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel; but all the Israelites went down to the Philistines to sharpen every man his share, and his coulter, and his axe, and his mattock." When Solomon came to build the temple he sent to Hiram, king of Tyre, for "a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron." The Phœnicians were celebrated as workers in all the metals.

In Jeremiah, xv. 12, the question is asked by the prophet: "Shall iron break the northern iron and the steel?" The northern iron and steel here referred to were probably products of Chalybia, a small district lying on the southeastern shore of the Euxine, the inhabitants of which, called Chalibees or Chalybians, were famous in the days of Asiatic pre-eminence for the fine quality of their iron and steel. Herodotus, in the fifth century before Christ, speaks of "the Chalybians, a people of ironworkers." They are said to have invented the art of converting iron into steel, but it is probable that, as they used magnetic sand, they made steel mainly. Latin and Greek names for steel were derived from the name of this people. From the same source we obtain the words "chalybean" and "chalybeate."

But other eastern nations doubtless made steel at as early a day as the Chalybians. In Ezekiel, xxvii. 12, the merchants of Tarshish are said to supply Tyre with iron and other metals, and in the 19th verse of the same chapter the merchants of Dan and Javan are said to supply its market with "bright iron." Tarshish is supposed to have been a city in the south of Spain, and Dan and Javan were probably cities in the south of Arabia. The name Tarshish may, however, have referred generally to the countries lying along the western coast of the Mediterranean and beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Dan and Javan may have supplied iron made in the southern part of Arabia, or they may have traded in the "bright iron," or steel, of India. The period embraced in the references quoted from the prophet was about six hundred years before Christ. Both Tyre and Sidon traded in all the products of the East and the West for centuries before and after Ezekiel, and iron was one of the products which they supplied to their neighbors, the Israelites.

The Persians and their northern neighbors, the Medes, made iron long before the Christian era, and so did the Parthians and other Scythian tribes. The Parthian arrow was first tipped with bronze, but afterwards with steel. The Parthian kings are said to have engaged with pride in the forging and sharpening of arrow-heads. Iron is still made in Persia by primitive methods.

India appears to have been acquainted with the manufacture of iron and steel from a very early period. When Alexander defeated Porus, one of the Punjaub kings, in the fourth century before the Christian era, Porus gave him thirty pounds of Indian steel, or wootz. This steel, which is still made in India and Persia, was a true steel, and of a quality unsurpassed even in our day. It was and still is manufactured by a process of great simplicity, similar to that by which crucible steel is now manufactured. Long prior to the Christian era, as well as for many centuries afterwards, Damascus, the capital of Syria, manufactured its famous swords in part from Indian wootz. The people of India further appear to have become familiar, at an early period in their history, with processes for the manufacture

of iron on a large scale which have since been lost. It is circumstantially stated that a cylindrical wrought-iron pillar is now standing at the principal gate of the ancient mosque of the Kutub, near Delhi, in India, which is about 60 feet long, 16 inches in diameter near the base, contains about 80 cubic feet of metal, and weighs probably over 17 tons. The immense proportions of this pillar are not more striking than its ornate finish. An inscription in Sanscrit is variously interpreted to assign its erection to the ninth or tenth century before the Christian era or to the early part of the fourth century after it. In the ruins of Indian temples there have been found wrought-iron beams similar in size and appearance to those used in the construction of buildings at the present time. Metallurgists are unable to understand how these large masses of iron could have been forged by a people who appear not to have possessed any of the mechanical appliances for their manufacture which are now necessary to the production of similar articles.

The period at which China first made iron is uncertain, but great antiquity is claimed for its manufacture in that mysterious country. In a Chinese record which is supposed to have been written two thousand years before Christ iron is mentioned, and in other ancient Chinese writings iron and steel are both mentioned. Pliny the Elder, writing in the first century of the Christian era, thus speaks of the iron of China, the inhabitants of which were known in his day as the Seres: "Howbeit, as many kinds of iron as there be, none shall match in goodness the steel that cometh from the Seres, for this commodity also, as hard ware as it is, they send and sell with their soft silks and fine furs. In a second degree of goodness may be placed the Parthian iron."

It may be assumed as susceptible of proof that the knowledge of the use of iron, if not of its manufacture, was common to all the people of Asia and of Northern Africa long previous to the Christian era. The Phœnicians would carry this knowledge to their own great colony, Carthage, which was founded in the ninth century before Christ, and to all the colonies and nations inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean. Phœnician merchants obtained iron from such distant countries as Morocco and Spain, and possibly even from India and China, as well as from nearer sources. But in time the merchants of Tyre and the "ships of Tarshish" deserted the places that long had known them, empire after empire fell in ruins, and with the fading away of Asiatic and African civilization and magnificence the manufacture and the use of iron in Asia and Africa ceased to advance. Egypt has probably not made iron for nearly three thousand years, and probably no more iron is made in all Asia to-day than was made in its borders twenty-five centuries ago, when Babylon was "the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency."

THE EARLY USE OF IRON IN EUROPE.

The authentic history of the use of iron in Europe does not begin until about the period of the first Olympiad, corresponding to the year 776 before the Christian era, although both Grecian poetry and the traditions of the Grecian heroic age have transmitted to us many references to iron long prior to that period. About the time of Moses the Phœnicians are said to have introduced into Greece the art of working in iron and other metals. Minos, king of Crete, was indebted to them for the tools which enabled him to build his powerful fleet. In the fifteenth century before Christ the burning of the forests on Mount Ida, in Crete, is said to have accidentally communicated to the inhabitants the art of obtaining iron from native ores. This discovery enabled the Idæi Dactyli, who were priests of Cybele, to introduce the manufacture of iron and steel into Phrygia, a Greek colony in Asia Minor. So read some of the stories which have come down to us from the heroic age of Greece, and which, like the well-known story of Vulcan and his forges on the island of Lemnos, may be wholly fabulous; but there is nothing improbable in the conclusion which may be derived from them, that they point to a very early use of iron by the Greeks. From Phœnicia certainly, and probably also from Egypt, they would be likely to derive a knowledge of its use in the mechanic arts at least a thousand years before Christ. It is worthy of notice that the mythologies of both Greece and Egypt attributed the invention of the art of manufacturing iron to the gods—a fact which of itself may be regarded as establishing the great antiquity of the art in both countries.

The poems of Homer, who is supposed to have lived about 850 years before the Christian era, and therefore before the era of authentic Grecian history, make frequent mention of iron, and the art of hardening and tempering steel is fully described in the reference to the plunging of Ulysses' firebrand into the eye of Polyphemus—an act likened to that of the smith who "plunges the loud-hissing axe into cold water to temper it, for hence is the strength of iron." It would appear, however, from the offer by Achilles of "a mass of iron, shapeless from the forge," as a prize at the funeral games of Patroclus, that iron was not abundant in Greece at the time of the Trojan war, nor in the days of Homer himself. Troy fell in the year 1184 before the Christian era. The address of Achilles to the Greeks, when offering the prize, indicates how valuable iron was to them in the heroic age.

> Stand forth, whoever will contend for this;
> And if broad fields and rich be his, the mass
> Will last him many years. The man who tends
> His flocks, or guides his plow, need not be sent
> To town for iron: he will have it here.

Homer mentions steel axes as valuable prizes to be contended for in the Grecian games, and he also mentions steel weapons of war, although rarely. He speaks again of some iron as being bright and white, the inference being

that steel is referred to. The Right Honorable William E. Gladstone, in his *Homeric Synchronisms*, says: "Iron is in Homer extremely rare and precious. He mentions nothing massive that is made of this material." Mr. Gladstone cites a number of references in Homer to iron and steel—the arrow-head of Pandaros, the dagger of Achilles, "the cutting tool of the chariot-maker for such fine work as shaping the felloe of the wheel," a knife for slaying oxen, and axes and adzes of steel. Hesiod, who is supposed to have been cotemporary with Homer, mentions iron and its qualities in his writings.

We come next to that period of Grecian history which introduces us to historical personages and historical events. Lycurgus, who lived about the time of the first Olympiad, required the Spartans to use iron as money; he "allowed nothing but bars of iron to pass in exchange for every commodity." These bars, for which iron rings or quoits were afterwards substituted, may have been made from the iron ores which were found in abundance in Laconia, or they may have been obtained abroad; but the use of iron as a measure of value in the days of Lycurgus indicates that this metal could not then have been a rare commodity. If it had been a precious metal Lycurgus would not have enforced its use as money. The iron ores of Elba were worked by the Greeks as early as the year 700 before Christ. They called the island Æthalia, "from the blazes of the iron works." The working of the ores of this island is mentioned by Herodotus, who lived in the fifth century before Christ; by Diodorus, a Sicilian historian of the first century before Christ; and by Strabo, a Greek traveler and geographer, who lived at the beginning of the Christian era. The Phœnicians made iron on the island of Eubœa at a very early day, and the Greeks afterwards actively prosecuted the same pursuit. Strabo speaks of the mines of Eubœa as being partially exhausted in his day. In Bœotia, on the mainland of Greece, iron was also made in very early times, and probably in other parts of the Grecian mainland and on the Grecian islands where iron ores are now found. On the island of Seriphos the ores are of the richest quality. Herodotus speaks of iron heads to lances and arrows in his day. He also mentions a silver bowl inlaid with iron, the work of Glaucus the Chian, which Alyattes dedicated at Delphi about the year 560 before Christ. Chalybian steel was imported into Greece in the time of Herodotus; and in the time of Aristotle, who lived a century later, the Greeks were themselves familiar with the manufacture of steel. Sophocles, who died in the year 406 before Christ, speaks of the tempering of iron in water. The manufacture of swords of steel about this time received some attention in Greece, as it did elsewhere. The father of Demosthenes, who was a manufacturer of arms, probably made steel swords. Iron and steel weapons of war began to displace those of bronze in most Mediterranean countries about the time of the battle of Marathon, which was fought in the year 490 before Christ. When Xerxes invaded Greece, ten years after the battle of Marathon, the Assyrians in his army carried wooden clubs "knotted with iron." The use of iron scythes as well as iron sickles was common among the Greeks about this time. Alexander, in the fourth century before Christ, is said by Pliny to have strengthened a bridge over the Euphrates, at Zeugma, with a chain made of links of iron. Daimachus, a writer who was cotemporary with Alexander, enumerates four different kinds of steel and their uses—the Chalybdic, Synopic, Lydian, and Lacedæmonian. Each kind of steel was adapted to the manufacture of a particular tool. From the Chalybdic and Synopic were made ordinary tools; from the Lacedæmonian were made files, augers, chisels, and stone-cutting implements; and from the Lydian were made swords, razors, and surgical instruments. The accounts left by this and other writers indicate great proficiency by the Greeks in the use of steel, and the possession of much skill in its manufacture.

A description of one of the "naval monsters" constructed by Archimedes for King Hiero, of Syracuse, about the middle of the third century before the Christian era, shows the great extent to which the use of iron had then been carried by the Greeks. "To each of the three masts was attached a couple of engines which darted iron bars and masses of lead against the enemy. The sides of the ship bristled with iron spikes, designed to protect it against boarding; and on all sides were likewise grapples which could be flung by machines into the galleys of the foe. The ship was supplied with twelve anchors, of which four were of wood and eight of iron."

According to accepted chronology, Rome was founded in the year 753 before the Christian era. It reached the culmination of its power about the end of the first century of that era. From its foundation to the beginning of its decline embraced a period of about nine hundred years. During the first part of this period Rome was favored with the experience of older nations in the use and manufacture of iron, and during the last part of it she greatly contributed by her energy and progressive spirit to extend its use and to increase its production. The Greeks were the great teachers of the Romans in all the arts, including metallurgy; but the Etruscans, who were the near neighbors of the Romans, and whom they in time supplanted, also contributed greatly to their knowledge of the arts of ancient civilization. The Etruscans, however, owed their civilization in large part to the Tyrrhenian Greeks, with whom they coalesced centuries before Rome was founded. Etruria was largely devoted to commerce, and among the countries with which it traded were Phœnicia and Carthage, as well as Greece and its colonies. From all these countries Etruscan civilization was invigorated and diversified, and Rome in its early days enjoyed the benefit of this invigoration and diversification. That it early acquired from the Etruscans a knowledge of the use and manufacture of iron can easily be imagined, and subsequent direct contact with Grecian colonies and with Greece itself would extend this knowledge. The island of Elba lay off the Etruscan coast, and, as has been already stated, its iron ores were extensively used by the Greeks about the time when Rome was founded. Its mines

were also worked by the Etruscans, and its ores were smelted both on the island and on the mainland. They were also taken to other countries to be converted into iron. After a lapse of twenty-five centuries the iron ores of this celebrated island are still exported, many cargoes finding their way to the United States. The Romans would also obtain iron from the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, but chiefly from the former. This island was occupied by the Ligurians and the Etruscans about the time of the founding of Rome, and by the Etruscans for centuries afterwards. The Carthaginians succeeded the Etruscans, and the Romans the Carthaginians. Iron was made in Corsica from the earliest times, and is still made in small quantities. The island has given a name to the Corsican forge, which is yet in use. A few years ago ten of these forges were in operation in Corsica, and they were probably almost identical in character with those which were used on the island when Rome was founded.

Iron is frequently mentioned in the early history of Rome. A war between the Romans and the Etruscans, the latter being led by their king, Porsenna, occurred in the year 507 before Christ, and among the conditions of peace exacted by the victorious Etruscan king was one which prohibited the Romans from using iron except for agricultural purposes. In the year 390 before Christ, when Rome was about to be ransomed from the Gauls, under Brennus, by a large payment of gold, Camillus, the Roman dictator, demurred, and declared that Rome should be ransomed with iron and not with gold, and that his sword alone should purchase peace. Another notable mention of iron in the early history of Rome occurs in the account of the defeat of the Carthaginian fleet in the first Punic war. The consul Duilius took command of the hastily-constructed Roman fleet, and upon encountering the Carthaginian fleet he connected his ships with those of the enemy by means of grappling-irons, through which, and the superior prowess of the Romans, he gained for Rome, in the year 260 before Christ, her first naval triumph. The Etruscan town of Pupluna furnished Scipio with iron in the second Punic war, and it is stated that many thousand tons of scoria are now lying on the beach close to its site.

Some of the swords and javelins of the Romans were made of iron or steel in the fifth century before the Christian era, but their agricultural implements, as has been shown in the reference to Etruria, were made of iron at an earlier period. The Roman battering-ram, which was borrowed from the Greeks, had a head of iron, and iron rings were placed around its beam. The Romans used this engine of war at the siege of Syracuse, in the year 212 before Christ. Prior to this time iron and steel tools were in common use among the carpenters, masons, shipwrights, and other tradesmen of Rome. At the beginning of the Christian era iron was in general use throughout the Roman Empire, the supply being derived from many countries which were subject to its sway. In the Acts of the Apostles, xii. 10, is a statement which indicates that iron was used at this period for architectural purposes and in public works. "When they were past the first and second ward they came unto the iron gate that leadeth unto the city." Iron was, however, used especially for tools, agricultural implements, and weapons of offense and defense. Pliny says that "iron ores are found almost everywhere," and that "the processes for refining the metal are nearly everywhere the same." It does not appear, however, that the Romans made iron at this time either at Rome or in its immediate vicinity. Pliny remarks that "in abundance of metals of every kind Italy yields to no land whatever, but all search for them has been prohibited by an ancient decree of the Senate." This prohibition probably applied only to the territory surrounding Rome. Vestiges of iron used by the Romans in the first century after Christ have been found in the ruins of the Coliseum, which was built by the emperor Vespasian. This iron was used as clamps to bind together the stones of that remarkable structure. Iron has also been found in the ruins of Pompeii, which was destroyed about the time the Coliseum was built.

In the northern part of Italy, just south of the Alps, corresponding to Piedmont and Lombardy of the present day, iron was made by the Romans in the first and second centuries before the Christian era. Pliny speaks of the excellence of the water at Comum, now Como, for tempering iron, although iron ores were not found there. Among the provinces which contributed largely to the Roman supply of iron at this time was Noricum, corresponding to Styria and Carinthia in Austria. Both Pliny and Ovid, who lived at the beginning of the Christian era, speak of Norican iron as being of superior quality, and it is certain that *ferrum noricum* was celebrated throughout Italy before their day. The best of swords were made from it in the reign of Augustus: Horace speaks of them. The spathic ores of Styria and Carinthia are still held in high favor; and the supply of ore, especially in the famous iron mountains of Erzberg and Huttenberg, shows no signs of exhaustion at the end of twenty centuries of almost constant use. Iron is still made in these provinces of Austria in small forges which are almost as primitive in character as those used by their ancient Celtic inhabitants. Celtic and Roman implements and medals, including a coin of the emperor Nerva, who lived in the first century of the Christian era, have been found in mounds of slag in the vicinity of Carinthian mines.

Cotemporaneously with the working of the Norican iron mines by the Celts, the Quadi, who inhabited the province of Moravia, lying north of Noricum, also made iron. The geographer Ptolemy, who lived in the second century of the Christian era, makes mention of the Quadi as ironworkers. Great antiquity is also claimed for the iron industry of that vast country which was known to the Romans as Sarmatia, now known as Russia in Europe. The nomadic Scythians would doubtless carry the art of ironmaking to the Ural mountains, where iron ore was and still is abundant. One of the Greek poets calls Scythia "the mother of iron"—Scythia comprising the countries lying north, east, and south of the Caspian sea.

The Phœnicians are known to have founded colonies in France and in Spain prior to the sixth century before Christ. They had settlements in Southern Gaul, on the Garonne and Rhone. The ancient city of Massilia, now Marseilles, is supposed to occupy the site of a Phœnician trading-post which fell into the possession of the Phocæan Greeks about the period we have mentioned, who gave to it great commercial and manufacturing importance. The Greeks also planted other colonies in Southern France. The city of Tartessus, or Tarshish, is supposed to have been one of the Phœnician settlements in the south of Spain; the city of Gades, or Cadiz, was another. Tartessus stood between the two arms of the Guadalquivir; but in the time of Strabo, who died about the year 25 of the Christian era, it had ceased to exist; Gades was its near neighbor, and still exists. It is probable that the Phœnicians introduced the manufacture of iron among the native inhabitants of France and Spain; the Iberians and Celtiberians of the latter country were certainly active in mining and working in metals several hundred years before the Christian era, and enjoyed an extensive trade in metals with Tyre and Carthage.

Under Grecian influence, which succeeded that of the Phœnicians in Spain, the Celtiberians, who inhabited the central and northeastern parts of the country, continued to make iron, and to this was joined the manufacture of steel. The famous forges of Aragon and Catalonia were active during the Grecian occupation of Spain. The Carthaginians for a brief time succeeded the Greeks in Spain, and about two centuries before the Christian era the Romans succeeded the Carthaginians. The Romans greatly extended the arts of their advanced civilization among the native inhabitants. They gave special encouragement to the manufacture of iron and steel, although in justice to the Celtiberians it must be said that their metallurgical skill was at least equal to that of the Romans. Polybius, a Greek historian who flourished in the second century before Christ, says that the helmet and armor of the Roman soldier were of bronze, but that the sword was a cut-and-thrust blade of Spanish steel. At the battle of Cannæ, in the year 216 before Christ, the Romans had learned from the Carthaginians at very great cost the value of the Spanish sword. Livy has recorded the fines which were imposed by Cato the Censor on the Celtiberian iron works after the Roman war with Spain in the year 194 before Christ. About the time these fines were imposed, the town of Bilbilis, near the present Moorish-built town of Calatayud, in Aragon, and the little river Salo were celebrated as the center of the iron district of Celtiberia. The water of the Salo was supposed to possess special qualities for the tempering of steel. The same excellence was attributed to other streams in Spain and in some other countries. Diodorus speaks of the excellent two-edged swords, "exactly tempered with steel," and of other arms which the Celtiberians in Aragon manufactured from rods of iron which had been rusted in the ground "to eat out all the weaker particles of the metal, and leave only the strongest and purest." He says that the swords which were manufactured from these rods "are so keen that there is no helmet or shield which cannot be cut through by them." Plutarch, who died about the year 140 of the Christian era, gives the same account of the Celtiberian method of purifying iron. Pliny speaks of the excellent iron of Bilbilis and Turiasso, the latter a town in Tarragona, and of an extensive mountain of iron upon the coast of Biscay, probably Somorrostro. Iron ore from the coast of Biscay is now exported in large quantities to Great Britain, the United States, and other countries. Toledo has been famous since the Roman occupation of Spain for its manufacture of swords, but this industry existed at Toledo before the appearance of the Romans. The town was captured by them in the year 192 before Christ. The Roman army from that time forward was provided with steel swords from Toledo and other places in Spain. The manufacture of Toledo blades probably attained its greatest development in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The business still continues. A certain degree of mystery has always surrounded the manufacture of these swords, and the same may be said of the manufacture of the equally-celebrated Damascus blades.

The iron industry of Spain was the first in the world for many hundred years after the Romans obtained a foothold in the country, surviving the downfall of the Roman power in the peninsula, and flourishing under the subsequent rule of the Visigoths. This distinction was strengthened when the Moors became masters of the greater part of Spain, in the beginning of the eighth century of the Christian era. They stimulated the further development of the iron manufacture in the districts subject to their sway. At the same time the native inhabitants who had successfully resisted the Moorish arms continued to push their small Catalan forges still farther into the Pyrenees and along the coast of Biscay, lighting up the forests in every direction. So prominent did the iron industry of Spain become that its ironworkers were sought for by other countries, and on the French side of the Pyrenees, and in the mountains of Germany, and along the Rhine, they set up many of their small forges. The Catalan forge, which received its name from Catalonia, has been introduced into every civilized country of modern times that produces iron, and it still exists in almost its original simplicity in the mountains of both Spain and France.

France did not at an early period in its history make the same progress in the manufacture of iron that has been recorded of Spain, partly because it did not receive the same outside attention which made Spain a center successively of Grecian, Roman, Gothic, and Moorish civilization, but partly also because it did not possess iron ores of the same rich quality as those of Spain. It may be said, however, that the use of iron weapons was well known to the Gauls who confronted the Romans hundreds of years before the Christian era, and to their successors who opposed the armies of Julius Cæsar, who refers frequently to their use of iron. In speaking of the Veneti, who inhabited the southern part of Brittany, he makes the remarkable statement that the anchors for their ships were fastened to them with iron chains instead of cables. He also says that the benches of the ships were fastened with

iron spikes of the thickness of a man's thumb. This circumstantial statement denotes great familiarity with the use of iron by the Veneti. In describing the siege of Avaricum, the modern Bourges, a fortified town of the Bituriges, Cæsar says that "there are in their territories extensive iron mines, and consequently every description of mining operations is known and practiced by them."

For hundreds of years after Cæsar's time only faint glimpses are furnished us of an iron industry in France. During this period it was doubtless wholly confined to Catalan forges. *Stückofens*, or high bloomaries, were in use in Alsatia and Burgundy in the tenth century. When William the Norman invaded England in 1066 he was accompanied by many smiths who were armorers and horse-shoers, and therefore skilled workers in iron. The modern blast furnace is supposed to have originated in the Rhine provinces about the beginning of the fourteenth century, but whether in France or Germany or Belgium is not clear. A hundred years later, in 1409, there was a blast furnace in the valley of Massevaux, in France, and it is claimed by Landrin that France had many blast furnaces about 1450.

Iron was made by the Belgæ as early as the time of Julius Cæsar, and possibly at an earlier date. Heaps of iron cinder, which archæologists decide to be as old at least as the Roman occupation of Gallia Belgica, have recently been found on the tops of ferruginous hillocks in the provinces of Brabant and Antwerp, and in these cinder heaps flint arrow-heads and fragments of coarse pottery, characteristic of the earliest dawn of civilization, have been discovered. During the Roman occupation of the country iron was produced in many places in Belgium, a fact which is attested by heaps of cinder or slag which yet exist and are found in association with Roman relics. It has been supposed that the iron which was made in Belgium at this period was produced in low bloomaries without an artificial blast. We do not again hear of the Belgian iron industry until the tenth century, when high bloomaries, or wolf furnaces, otherwise *stückofens*, were in operation in the valley of the Meuse. We are informed that "iron was made to perfection in the Netherlands" in the twelfth century. In the fourteenth century high furnaces, or *flussofens*, were in existence in Belgium. In 1340 a furnace of this description was built at Marche les Dames, near Namur, to which, in 1345, special privileges were granted by William, count of Namur. These furnaces were true blast furnaces, producing cast iron. In 1560 there were in operation in Belgium, according to M. Déby, 35 blast furnaces and 85 forges.

Near Saarbrucken, in Rhenish Prussia, where the first battle between the French and the Germans was fought in the war of 1870, iron is said to have been made in the days of Roman ascendency, but the Germans do not appear during this period to have been as familiar as their neighbors with its manufacture. Polybius, however, states that the Teutons and the Cimbri, from northwestern Germany, who invaded Italy and Gaul near the close of the second century before Christ, "were already familiar with iron, and possessed weapons of that metal." Tacitus informs us that "iron does not abound in Germany, if we may judge from the weapons in general use. Swords and large lances are seldom seen. The soldier grasps his javelin, or, as it is called in their language, his *fram*, an instrument tipped with a short and narrow piece of iron, sharply pointed, and so commodious that, as occasion requires, he can manage it in close engagement or in distant combat." He further says that the use of iron was unknown to the Æstyans, who inhabited the northern part of Germany lying upon the Baltic; "their general weapon was the club." The Gothinians are described by Tacitus as a people who "submit to the drudgery of digging iron in mines" for the Quadi, who were their neighbors. Ernest, the German editor, says the Gothinians had iron of their own, and did not make use of it to assert their liberty. Tacitus wrote his *Treatise on Germany* about the close of the first century of the Christian era. From this time forward the condition of the German iron industry is enveloped in obscurity until the eighth century, when we hear of iron works, probably wolf furnaces or *stückofens*, in the district of the river Lahn, in Nassau, where iron of great celebrity was made by a guild of "forest smiths" in 780. We are informed by Maw and Dredge that "they had their special privileges, kept an iron mart at Wetzlar, and sent their products regularly to the great annual fairs at Frankfort-on-the-Main. This iron industry was especially flourishing during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries." During the eighth century we hear also of the iron industry of the principality of Siegen. There was a steel forge at the town of Siegen in 1288, which had been in existence before the eleventh century. The iron industry of Siegen was very active during the Middle Ages. About the middle of the thirteenth century *stückofens* were in use in Siegen. Percy says that in the beginning of the fifteenth century pig iron was made in Siegen in *blauofens*. Iron was made in Saxony as early as the eighth century. Alexander informs us that the *flussofen* was introduced into Saxony in 1550, and that the wooden bellows was invented about this time by Hans Lobsinger, an organist of Nuremberg. Iron was made in the Hartz mountains in the eighth century. In the Thuringian mountains wolf furnaces and bloomaries were in existence in the tenth century, and blast furnaces in the fourteenth century. Alexander states that in the latter half of the sixteenth century there was a furnace in these mountains 24 feet high and 6 feet wide at the boshes, built by Hans-sien, a Voigtlander. In 1377 cast-iron guns were made near Erfurt, in Thuringia. In the fifteenth century pots, plates, balls, etc., of iron were cast at the celebrated Ilsenberg foundry in Germany. Stoves are said to have been cast for the first time in 1490, in Alsace.

Recurring to the iron industry of Austria, Alexander says that the mines of Styria were "opened again" in 712. It appears probable that wolf furnaces were in use in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola as early as the eighth century,

which appears to be the epoch of their introduction in most European countries. The first blast furnace in the Alps provinces was, however, introduced very much later than in Belgium or on the Rhine—the first in Carinthia being built in 1567, at Urtl; the first in Styria in 1760, at Eisenerz; and the first in Carniola in the early part of the present century. Iron was made in Bohemia and Silesia at an early period. "The Bohemian chronicler, Hajek, of Liboschan, mentions that iron works existed in 677, near Schasslau." Heaps of cinder and remains of wolf furnaces and ore bloomaries are numerous in Bohemia. In 1365 bloomaries were in use in Upper Silesia.

The iron industry of Sweden had an existence as early at least as the thirteenth century. A Swedish historian says that the oldest iron mine in Sweden is probably Norberg, in Westmanland, on the southern borders of Dalecarlia. There are documents still in existence, dated July 29, 1303, signed by Thorkel Knutson, the royal marshal, in which Norberg is mentioned as an iron mine. To the miners of Norberg, also, the first recorded privileges exclusively for iron mines appear to have been granted by King Magnus Ericsson, on February 24, 1354. In 1488 the mines of Dannemora were opened, and in 1614 Gustavus Adolphus encouraged the immigration of German furnacemen into Sweden. The celebrated iron works at Finspong were established in 1641 by Louis de Gier, from Liège, as a cannon foundry. The Walloon refining process, which takes its name from the Walloons, who were inhabitants of Flanders, was introduced into Sweden from Flanders in the time of Charles the Twelfth, who reigned from 1697 to 1718. Percy states that the osmund furnace, which was a modification of the *stückofen*, was formerly very common in Sweden.

The iron industry of Russia dates historically from 1569, in which year, as recorded by Scrivenor, the English "obtained the privilege of seeking for and smelting iron ore, on condition that they should teach the Russians the art of working this metal." The first historical iron works in Russia, however, were established long afterwards, according to the same author, in the reign of the czar Alexy Michaelovitch, about sixty miles from Moscow, and were the only ones in Russia prior to the reign of Peter the Great, who is said to have worked in them before he set out, in 1698, on his first journey into foreign countries. It is not known when the celebrated Russia sheet iron was first made. There is reason to believe that the Russians were skilled ironworkers and metallurgists long before the historic period above mentioned. The bells of Moscow have been famous for hundreds of years.

The use of iron in a limited way was known to the Britons before the invasion of England by Julius Cæsar in the year 55 before Christ. The Phœnicians, who traded with the Britons probably as early as the year 600 before Christ, may be supposed to have introduced among this barbarous people the use of iron, but we have no proof that they instructed them in its manufacture. The Greeks and Carthaginians succeeded the Phœnicians in trading with the Britons, but there is no evidence that they taught them the art of making iron. They, as well as the Phœnicians, probably took iron into Britain in exchange for tin and other native products. Cæsar, in his *Commentaries*, says of the Britons who opposed his occupation of the island that "they use either brass or iron rings, determined at a certain weight, as their money. Tin is produced in the midland regions; in the maritime, iron; but the quantity of it is small: they employ brass, which is imported." This quotation from Cæsar would appear to establish the fact that iron was a precious metal in Britain at the time of his invasion; at least it would seem to show that it was not in common use, and could not have been used as an article of export. Cæsar nowhere mentions the use of iron weapons of war by the Britons. It is worthy of mention that the Belgæ had passed over to Britain before Cæsar's time and made settlements upon its coast, and whatever arts they possessed they would of course take with them. It cannot be *proved* that the Belgæ made iron in their own country before Cæsar's invasion of it; if it could be shown that they did, it might safely be assumed that they would introduce their methods of manufacture into Britain. Cæsar says that a small quantity of iron was made in the maritime regions of the island, and this the Belgæ may have made.

THE GROWTH OF THE BRITISH IRON INDUSTRY.

If the manufacture of iron by the Britons prior to the Roman invasion is enveloped in obscurity and even in doubt, there can be no doubt that iron was made in considerable quantities during the Roman *occupation* of Britain, which nominally extended from about the middle of the first century of the Christian era to the year 411. The Romans, it may here be remarked, were never themselves prominent as iron manufacturers in any country occupied by them; but, knowing the value of iron, they encouraged its manufacture wherever their arms were borne and the necessary conditions existed. The remains of iron works which were in existence and were operated during their stay in Britain are still pointed out. Dismissing all speculation concerning the origin of the first iron works in Britain, the remains of some of these works may well receive attention. They relate to a most interesting period in the history of the British iron trade.

Large heaps of iron scoria, or cinder, as old as the Roman era, have been discovered in the Wealds of Kent and Sussex, in the hills of Somerset, and in the Forest of Dean in Gloucester; also at Bierley, a few miles from Bradford in Yorkshire, and in the neighborhood of Leeds in the same county. There is also evidence that iron was made under the Romans in Northumberland, which is near Yorkshire; in Surrey, which adjoins Kent and Sussex; and in Monmouthshire, Hereford, and Worcester, which adjoin Gloucester. Except Bierley, Leeds, and Northumberland,

all the places and districts named as having produced iron lie in the southeastern or southwestern parts of England, or within the ancient boundaries of South Wales—"the country of the Silures." Next to Cornwall, where tin was obtained by the Phœnicians and their successors, these southern portions of the country would be most likely to be visited and influenced by foreigners before the Roman invasion. Cæsar described the island of Britain as being shaped like a triangle, with one of its sides looking toward Gaul. "One angle of this side is in Kent, whither almost all ships from Gaul are directed." The cinder mentioned has been found almost invariably in connection with Roman coins, pottery, and altars. A coin of Antoninus Pius, who lived in the second century after Christ, was found in the Forest of Dean in 1762, together with a piece of fine pottery. Coins of other Roman emperors have been found in the cinder heaps of the Forest of Dean. In the cinder beds of Beauport, between Hastings and Battle, in Sussex, a bronze coin of Trajan has been found, and one of Adrian. These emperors lived in the first and second centuries after Christ. Coins found in the cinder heaps of Maresfield, not far from Uckfield, have dates ranging from Nero to Diocletian, or from the year 54 to the year 286 after Christ. In the cinder mounds of Sussex many specimens of pottery have been discovered, including black and red Samian ware. On one of these, the base of a *patera*, is the potter's mark, "Albvciani." One relic consisted of a bronze *ligula*, very thin and elastic, more than four inches long, in good preservation, and having an elegantly-shaped bowl. Altars erected to Jupiter Dolichenus, the protector of iron works, have been discovered in various places in association with the remains of such works.

Much of the cinder has been found on the tops of hills or mounds, a circumstance which has led to the belief that bellows were not employed in producing a blast, but that the wind was relied upon to produce a draft sufficient to smelt the ore in charcoal bloomaries, some of which were mere excavations in the tops of hills, with covered channels leading to the hillside in the direction of the prevailing winds. This method of making iron is that which appears to have prevailed in Belgica at the same time. It is a curious fact that bloomaries of similar form and adaptation were in use in Derbyshire, for smelting lead, as late as the seventeenth century. Scrivenor mentions that similar furnaces were used by the Peruvians to smelt the silver ore of the country before the arrival of the Spaniards. Other air-bloomaries in England are supposed by Fairbairn and other writers to have been simple conical structures, with small openings below for the admission of air, and erected on high grounds that the wind might assist combustion. Iron is made to-day in Burmah without the aid of an artificial blast. The cinder found in England and Wales was very rich in iron; in the Forest of Dean it was so rich and so abundant that for many years after its discovery, a few centuries ago, about twenty small charcoal furnaces were engaged in smelting it.

Recent researches by Mr. James Rock, of Hastings, in Sussex, throw much new light on the Roman and early British methods of manufacturing iron. Cinder beds, or cinder heaps, were formerly very numerous in East Sussex, and many of them still exist. The neighborhood of Hastings appears to have been a great center of the iron industry "from the earliest times." The cinder heaps yet remaining are large enough to be quarried, and contain many thousand tons of scoria, some of the heaps having large oak trees growing upon their summits.

It was stated in 1681, by Andrew Yarranton, in the second part of his *England's Improvements by Sea and Land*, that "within 100 yards of the walls of the city of Worcester there was dug up one of the hearths of the Roman foot-blasts, it being then firm and in order, and was 7 foot deep in the earth; and by the side of the work there was found a pot of Roman coin to the quantity of a peck." The foot-blast here referred to must have been a leather bellows, with which the Romans and their Mediterranean neighbors were certainly acquainted. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that the Romans while in Britain used both the wind-bloomaries and the foot-blasts.

Strabo mentions the exportation of iron from Britain in his day. This was before the Romans had subdued the Britons, but after the influence of Roman civilization had been felt in the island. The emperor Adrian landed in Britain in the year 120, and in the following year there was established at Bath, in Wiltshire, a great Roman military forge, or *fabrica*, for the manufacture of iron arms. This forge was close to the bloomaries in Somerset and the Forest of Dean, from which it was supplied with iron. That the manufacture of iron at this time and for some time subsequent was almost wholly confined to the southern parts of England seems probable from a passage in Herodian, quoted by Smiles in his *Industrial Biography*, who says of the British pursued by the emperor Severus, in the year 208, through the fens and marshes of the east coast, that "they wore iron hoops round their middles and their necks, esteeming them as ornaments and tokens of riches, in like manner as other barbarous people then esteemed ornaments of silver and gold."

The Anglo-Saxons, who succeeded the Romans in the early part of the fifth century as the rulers of Britain, used iron weapons of war, and it is a reasonable supposition that they manufactured all the iron that was required for this purpose; but their enterprise as iron manufacturers probably extended but little further, although Bede speaks of the importance of the iron industry in his day, the beginning of the eighth century. The Anglo-Saxon monks frequently engaged in the manufacture of iron. Saint Dunstan, who lived in the tenth century, is said to have had a forge in his bedroom, and to have been a skilled blacksmith and metallurgist. During the ascendency of the Danes, and afterwards down to the accession of William the Conqueror in 1066, iron was made in the Forest of Dean and elsewhere, but in limited quantities. In the eleventh century the Anglo-Saxon plow consisted of a

wooden wedge covered with straps of iron; to this the Normans added the coulter. The shipbuilders of Edward the Confessor, the last king of the Anglo-Saxons prior to Harold, who lost the battle of Hastings, obtained bolts and bars of iron from the city of Gloucester. The antiquarian Camden, quoted by Scrivenor and others, states that "in and before the reign of William the Conqueror the chief trade of the city of Gloucester was the forging of iron; and it is mentioned in *Doomsday-Book* that there was scarcely any other tribute required from that city by the king than certain *dicars* of iron and iron bars for the use of the royal navy. The quantity required was thirty-six *dicars* of iron; a *dicar* containing ten bars and one hundred iron rods for nails or bolts." Giraldis Cambrensis, who lived in the twelfth century, speaks of "the noble Forest of Dean, by which Gloucester was amply supplied with iron and venison." Nicholls, in *The Forest of Dean*, says that in the time of Edward the First, in the early part of the thirteenth century, the Free Miners of the Forest "applied for and obtained their 'customes and franchises,' which were granted, as the record of them declares, 'time out of mind.'" In 1282, according to Nicholls, there were "upward of seventy-two" *forgeæ errantes*, or movable forges, in the Forest, each of which paid a license of 7*s.* a year to the crown. Scrivenor states that during the period from the Conquest to the death of John, in 1216, iron and steel were imported into Britain from Germany and other countries. The Normans, however, contributed much to develop English iron and other resources. Green, in his *History of the English People*, says that one immediate result of the Conquest was a great immigration into England from the Continent. "A peaceful invasion of the industrial and trading classes of Normandy followed quick on the conquest of the Norman soldiery." Still the English iron industry made but slow progress. It is mentioned by Scrivenor that there were but few iron mines in the north of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and that, in the tenth year of the reign of Edward the Second, in 1317, iron was so scarce in that section and in Scotland that the Scots, "in a predatory expedition which they made in that year, met with no iron worth their notice until they came to Furness, in Lancashire, where they seized all the manufactured iron they could find, and carried it off with the greatest joy, though so heavy of carriage, and preferred it to all other plunder." The Scots at this time were in great need of iron, which they did not produce, but for which they were wholly dependent on the Continent and on the favor or ill-fortune of England. Alexander says that there were iron works at Kimberworth, in Yorkshire, in 1160, and Smiles gives an extract from a contract for supplying wood and ore for iron "blomes" at Kirskill, near Otley, in Yorkshire, in 1352. A recent writer, Mr. H. A. Fletcher, says that "the earliest record which has been found of iron-ore mining in Cumberland seems to be the grant of the forge at Winefel to the monks of Holm Cultram Abbey, in the twelfth century, which also included a mine at Egremont, by inference of iron, being in connection with a forge; and Thomas de Multon confirms a gift to the same abbey *de quartuor duodenis minæ ferri in Coupland.*"

Scrivenor mentions one art related to the manufacture of iron which flourished in England from William to John, if the manufacture itself did not. The art of making defensive armor was brought to such perfection during the period mentioned that "a knight completely armed was almost invulnerable." The history of the Crusades shows that the English were then very proficient in the manufacture of both arms and armor, as were the Turks who resisted them. Smiles says that it was the knowledge of the art of iron forging which laid the foundation of the Turkish empire. By means of this art they made the arms which first secured their own freedom and then enabled them to extend their power.

Edward the Third, who reigned from 1327 to 1377, did much to advance the manufacturing industries of England. He protected domestic manufactures by legislation which restricted the importation of foreign goods, and he encouraged the immigration into England of skilled workmen from the Continent. The use of iron was greatly extended in his reign, and its manufacture was active in Kent and Sussex and in the Forest of Dean. Nevertheless the domestic supply did not meet the wants of the people. Scrivenor says: "By an act passed in the twenty-eighth year of Edward the Third no iron manufactured in England, and also no iron imported and sold, could be carried out of the country, under the penalty of forfeiting double the quantity to the king; and the magistrates were empowered to regulate the selling price and to punish those who sold at too dear a rate, according to the extent of the transaction." This act appears to have remained in force long after Edward's death. Smiles quotes from Parker's *English Home* the statement that in Edward the Third's reign the pots, spits, and frying-pans of the royal kitchen were classed among the king's jewels.

The methods of manufacturing iron which were followed in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were still of a slow and restricted character, although greatly advanced beyond those which existed in the days of the Romans. The English were yet mainly devoted to agriculture, and were not even good farmers, their implements of husbandry and their methods of cultivating the soil being equally rude. Wool was their great staple, and this was largely exported to the Continent, where it was manufactured into finer fabrics than the English were capable of producing. Iron was often scarce and dear, because the domestic supply was insufficient. The iron industry on the Continent was at this period in a much more advanced stage of development, and most of the Continental iron was also of a better quality than the English iron.

Professor James E. Thorold Rogers, in his *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, gives many interesting details concerning the iron industry of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Iron was made at this

time at Tendale, in Cumberland; at or near the city of Gloucester; and in Kent and Sussex. It was, doubtless, made in many other places. Steel is frequently mentioned, the first reference to it being in 1267. It is not clear whether all the steel used in England during the period under consideration was imported, but most of it certainly was. Much of the iron used was imported, frequent mention being made of Spanish and Osemond iron. Osemond steel is also frequently mentioned. In 1281 Norman iron, of a superior quality, was bought for the Newgate jail. Spain appears to have been the principal source of the supply of imported iron. It is probable that the Osemond iron and steel were imported from Sweden and Norway, the osmund furnace having been in use in these countries and in Finland about this time. Iron and steel were generally bought at fairs and markets. The Spaniard attended the Stourbridge fair with his stock of iron, and iron from the Sussex forges was sold at the same place. The prices of iron and steel were usually lower near the sea and at the great towns in the south of England than elsewhere. Among the farmers it was customary for the bailiff to buy the iron that might be needed on the farm, and to employ a smith to make the horseshoes and nails and to iron the implements. Steel appears to have been but little used by the farmers. Rogers says that "no direct information about the seasons, scanty as it is, is so frequent as that found in the notices which the bailiff gives of the great cost of iron." Iron for the tires of wagons and carts was so dear that many wheels were not ironed.

Iron was sold in several forms. The iron made at the works at Tendale was sold in the form of blooms in 1333 and subsequently. Blooms were sold as early as 1318, but the place of their manufacture is not given. Slabs and bars of iron are also mentioned, but the commonest form in which iron was sold was the *piece*, twenty-five pieces constituting a hundred-weight. "The small fagot of iron, each bar of which weighed a little over four pounds, was kept by the bailiff, and served, as occasion required, for the various uses of the farm." The Tendale bloom weighed about one hundred pounds, and was sold at a much lower price than other forms of iron. It was, of course, unrefined iron. Steel was usually sold by the garb, or sheaf, each sheaf containing thirty small pieces, the exact weight of which is not stated. Rogers supposes that the pieces of iron and steel were of about the same weight, and that the price of steel was about four times the price of iron. Occasional mention is made of steel which was sold by the cake; it was "a little higher in value and much greater in weight than the garb."

Plow-shoes, which appear to have been iron points to wooden shares, are of frequent occurrence in the accounts quoted by Rogers, and so are lath and board nails, clouts and clout nails, and horseshoes and horseshoe nails. Horseshoes were not purchased from the smiths until about the close of the fourteenth century; down to that time the smiths were supplied by the bailiffs with the iron for their manufacture. "Hinges, staples, and bolts were occasionally manufactured by the village smith, from iron supplied him by the bailiff, but were more frequently bought at the market-town or fair." Iron mattocks and hoes were used in the fourteenth century, as were iron sickles, scythes, and hay and other forks. Domestic utensils of iron were not in general use; pots and other articles used in the kitchen were usually of brass. A brass jug and pan are mentioned in 1272; a brass jug and basin in 1360; and two brass pots in 1383. Such iron utensils as were in use appear to have been made of wrought iron. Tinware was certainly unknown. Hammers, axes, pickaxes, and other tools were made of iron. Iron hoops were used for buckets and grain measures in the fourteenth century; "the iron-bound bucket that hung in the well" had an existence as early at least as 1331.

Passing to other authorities we find that arrow-heads were manufactured at Sheffield in the thirteenth century, and that knives were manufactured at the same place in the fourteenth century, as they are to-day. Chaucer, who wrote his *Canterbury Tales* near the close of the latter century, in describing the miller of Trompington says that "a Schefeld thwytel bar he in his hose." Birmingham was then, as it is now, a center of the manufacture of swords, tools, and nails. Smiles pays a deserved compliment to the English smith, to whom England owes so much of her greatness. In Anglo-Saxon times his person was protected by a double penalty, and he was treated as an officer of the highest rank. The forging of swords was then his great specialty. William the Conqueror did much to exalt the art of the smith, to which he was much indebted for his victory at Hastings, his soldiers being better armed than those of the Saxon Harold. At the close of the fourteenth century the smith had fairly entered upon the brilliant career which has since contributed so much to the industrial pre-eminence of England. Mr. Picton, in a recent address, says: "Iron work at this period was of the most elaborate description. The locks and keys, the hinges and bolts, the smith's work in gates and screens, exceed in beauty anything of the kind which has since been produced."

England appears to have first used cannon in field warfare at the battle of Cressy and the siege of Calais in the year 1346, when the bowmen of Edward the Third were drawn up "in the form of a harrow," with small bombards between them, "which, with fire, threw little iron balls to frighten the horses." These bombards were made of "iron bars joined together longitudinally, and strengthened by exterior hoops of iron." France, however, according to Scrivenor, appears to have used cannon as early as 1338, in which year it is reported that the government had an account with Henry de Faumichan "for gunpowder and other things necessary for the cannon at the siege of Puii Guillaume." But the archers of the English army continued to be the main reliance of the English kings for many years after Edward's first use of the bombards, and on the Continent gunpowder did not come into general use until the sixteenth century. At the battle of Pavia, in 1525, the match-lock was first used in an effective form, and it was then fired from a rest.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the manufacture of iron in England was greatly extended. The encouragement which Edward the Third and his immediate successors had given to the immigration of foreign workmen into England had resulted in the settlement in the country of many Flemish and French ironworkers, whose skill was eagerly sought by many landed proprietors, who entered with zeal into the manufacture of iron. Sussex became the principal seat of the industry; it possessed both ores and forests, the latter supplying the necessary fuel, and small streams furnished the requisite power to drive the "iron mills." As one marked result of the extension of the iron manufacture in England, the dependence of the country upon foreign sources of iron supply was greatly lessened; so much so that in 1483 an act was passed prohibiting the importation of gridirons, grates, iron wire, knives, hinges, scissors, and many other manufactured articles of iron or steel which competed with like articles of domestic production. Landrin, however, states that fine tools were still imported from Bilbao, in Spain, as late as 1548.

About the beginning of the fifteenth century blast furnaces were introduced into England from the Continent, and this event gave a fresh impetus to the iron industry of Sussex, Kent, Surrey, and other sections. Prior to the introduction of blast furnaces all the iron that was manufactured in England was produced in forges or bloomaries directly from the ore, and was consequently, when finished, wrought or bar iron. Little of it was cast iron. These bloomaries were doubtless modeled after the German *stückofen* during the latter part of the period antecedent to the introduction of the blast furnace. The exact date of the erection of the first blast furnace in England is unknown, but this event must have followed closely upon the introduction of the *flussofen*, or *blauofen*, on the Continent in the fourteenth century. The English antiquarian writer, M. A. Lower, in his account of the iron industry of Sussex, mentions iron castings which were made in Sussex in that century, but these may have been produced by the *stückofen*, or high bloomary. Mushet supposes that cast iron was made in the Forest of Dean in 1540, and he says that the oldest piece of cast iron he ever saw bore the initials "E. R." and the date "1555." Camden, who lived between 1551 and 1623, says that "Sussex is full of iron mines everywhere, for the casting of which there are furnaces up and down the country, and abundance of wood is yearly spent." He also says that the heavy forge-hammers, which were mostly worked by water-power, stored in hammer-ponds, "beating upon the iron, fill the neighborhood round about, day and night, with continual noise." About 1612 John Norden, quoted by Smiles, stated in a published document that "there are, or lately were, in Sussex neere 140 hammers and furnaces for iron." At this time Sussex is supposed to have produced one-half of all the iron made in England. The best of the Sussex furnaces did not, however, at this time produce more than eight or ten tons of pig iron in a week. At Pontypool, in Monmouthshire, a blast furnace was built in 1565 by Capel Hanbury, to smelt the Roman cinder which was found there, and about the same time several furnaces were built in the Forest of Dean to rework the cinder which was found there in large quantities. The first furnaces built in the Forest were 15 feet high and 6 feet wide at the boshes. The furnaces at work in 1677 were blown with bellows 20 feet long, driven by "a great wheel" turned by water.

Smiles says that "the iron manufacture of Sussex reached its height toward the close of the reign of Elizabeth, when the trade became so prosperous that, instead of importing iron, England began to export it in considerable quantities in the shape of iron ordnance." This ordnance was cast, and the time referred to was the close of the sixteenth century. Bronze cannon had succeeded the bombards about the beginning of that century, and as early as 1543 cast-iron cannon were made in Sussex, at a place called Bucksteed, by Ralph Hoge, who employed a Frenchman named Peter Baude as his assistant. "Many great guns" were subsequently cast in Sussex, John Johnson and his son Thomas Johnson, the former a servant of Peter Baude, being prominent in their manufacture. John Johnson is said to have "succeeded and exceeded his master in this his art of casting ordnance." About 1595 the weight of some of the cannon cast in Sussex amounted to three tons each. At a later period, in 1648, Bishop Wilkins, in his *Mathematicall Magick*, says that "a whole cannon weighed commonly 8,000 pounds, a half cannon 5,000, a culverin 4,500, a demi-culverin 3,000. A whole cannon required for every charge 40 pounds of powder and a bullet of 64 pounds."

But a still greater honor is claimed for Peter Baude than that with which his name is above associated. Stow, in his *Chronicle*, quoted by Froude and Smiles, says that two foreign workmen, whom Henry the Eighth tempted into his service, first invented shells. "One Peter Baude, a Frenchman-born, and another alien called Peter Van Cullen, a gunsmith, both the king's feed men, conferring together, devised and caused to be made certain mortar pieces, being at the mouth from 11 inches unto 19 inches wide, for the use whereof they caused to be made certain hollow shot of cast iron, to be stuffed with fire-work or wild-fire, whereof the bigger sort for the same had screws of iron to receive a match to carry fire kindled, that the fire-work might be set on fire for to break in pieces the same hollow shot, whereof the smallest piece hitting any man would kill or spoil him."

There is deposited in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, a stone cannon-ball, one of twenty-three which are said to have been fired at the boat in which Queen Mary and Douglass made their escape from Loch Leven in 1568. It is about 8 inches in diameter, is round, but not smooth, and weighs probably 15 pounds.

The exportation of cast-iron cannon became so extensive that complaint was made that Spain armed her ships with them to fight the ships of England, and the trade was for a time prohibited. Hume says that "shipbuilding and the founding of iron cannon were the sole manufactures in which the English excelled in James the First's reign," from 1603 to 1625. In 1629 the crown ordered 600 cannon to be cast for the States of Holland. England, however, continued to import from the Continent, particularly from Sweden, Germany, and Spain, some of the finer qualities of iron and considerable steel.

Before 1568 all iron wire which was made in England was "drawn by main strength alone," according to Camden. The Germans, says this author, then introduced into the Forest of Dean and elsewhere the art of drawing it by a mill. Prior to the year mentioned the greater part of the iron wire and ready-made wool-cards used in England was imported. Scrivenor quotes Williams's *History of Monmouthshire* as authority for the statement that the iron and wire works near Abbey Tintern were erected by Germans. There can be no doubt that the iron industry of England in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries was greatly indebted to the inventive genius and mechanical skill of the Continental nations.

Near the close of the sixteenth century there was introduced into England an invention for slitting flattened bars of iron into strips, called nail-rods. This invention was the slitting mill. Scrivenor, upon the authority of *Gough's Camden*, states that Godfrey Bochs, of Liège, Belgium, set up at Dartford, in 1590, "the first iron-mill for slitting bars." Dartford is a market town in Kent. Another story associates the name of "the founder of the Foley family, who was a fiddler living near Stourbridge," with the honor of introducing the first slitting mill into England, a knowledge of which he surreptitiously gained by visiting Swedish iron works and fiddling for the workmen. Percy states that Richard Foley, the founder of the Foley family at Stourbridge, who was first a seller of nails and afterwards a forgemaster, died in 1657 at the age of 80 years. In 1606 and 1618 patents were granted in England to Sir Davis Bulmer and Clement Dawbeny, respectively, for cutting iron into nail-rods by water-power. The slitting mill, by whomsoever invented and perfected, greatly benefited the nail trade of England. Birmingham became the center of this industry, and it was here, probably, that women and girls were first regularly employed in England in the manufacture of nails. Hutton, quoted by Dr. Young in his *Labor in Europe and America*, says that in 1741 they were thus employed in the numerous blacksmith shops of Birmingham, "wielding the hammer with all the grace of their sex." They were called "nailers." Machinery was not applied to the manufacture of nails until near the close of the eighteenth century.

The art of tinning iron was first practiced in Bohemia, and about 1620 it was introduced into Saxony. These countries for a time supplied all Europe with tin plates. In 1681 Andrew Yarranton asserted that tin plates were then made in England through his means, he having learned the art of making them in Saxony in 1665. The exact date of the introduction of the manufacture of tin plates into England by Yarranton is said to have been 1670. The first attempt to establish the new industry in England was made at Pontypool, in Monmouthshire. Scrivenor states that in 1740 the art "was brought to considerable perfection in England."

But, notwithstanding the progress which had been made in the development of the English iron trade, especially in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Elizabeth, and James the First, an influence was at work which was destined to weigh heavily for a hundred and fifty years upon all further development. This was the growing scarcity of wood for the use of the forges and furnaces; mineral fuel, or pit-coal, not yet having come into use as a substitute for wood. The forests of England in the ironmaking districts had been largely consumed by "the voragious iron mills," and there were loud complaints that the whole community would be unable to obtain fuel for domestic purposes if this denudation were persisted in. In response to these complaints we learn from Scrivenor that, in 1558, the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, an act was passed which prohibited the cutting of timber in certain parts of the country for conversion into coal or fuel "for the making of iron," special exception being made of the Weald of Kent, certain parishes, and "high in the Weald of the county of Surrey." In 1581 a further act to prevent the destruction of timber was passed, which set forth the increasing scarcity of timber for fuel in consequence of "the late erection of sundry iron mills in divers places not far distant from the city of London and the suburbs of the same, or from the downs and sea-coast of Sussex," and provided that "no new iron works should be erected within twenty-two miles of London, nor within fourteen miles of the river Thames," nor in certain parts of Sussex near the sea; nor should any wood within the limits described, with certain exceptions, be converted to coal "or other fuel for making of iron." A more sweeping act was passed in 1584, which prohibited the erection of any new iron works in Surrey, Kent, and Sussex, and ordered that no timber one foot square at the stub should be used as fuel "at any iron work." It is said that these restrictions were not very rigidly enforced, but they served to narrow the limits within which the manufacture of iron could be prosecuted. About the middle of the seventeenth century the iron industry experienced another serious check through the civil commotion which then prevailed. Many of the forges and furnaces in Sussex and in the south of Wales were then destroyed, and not again rebuilt. Soon after the Restoration all of the royal iron works in the Forest of Dean were destroyed, owing to the scarcity of timber. There was then much apprehension felt lest the Forest of Dean should fail to supply timber for the royal navy. Owing to the scarcity of timber many of the iron works in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and in the north of England were "laid down" in 1676, and England's supply of iron was largely derived from

"Sweadland, Flanders, and Spain." Dudley, in his *Metallum Martis*, says that in 1644 there were nearly 20,000 smiths of all sorts within ten miles of Dudley Castle, in Staffordshire, and that there were also "many iron works at that time within that circle decayed for want of wood (yet formerly a mighty woodland country)."

Notwithstanding these severe checks, the iron industry of England bravely refused to be utterly destroyed, and as late as 1720 it was still second in importance to the manufacture of woolen goods. In 1740, however, only 59 furnaces were left in all England and Wales, and their total production was but 17,350 tons of pig iron, or about 294 tons for each furnace. All of the furnaces may not have been in blast, as it has been proved that, ten years later, in 1750, each of the charcoal furnaces of Monmouthshire produced 24 tons of iron in a week. Ten of the furnaces existing in 1740 were in Sussex, but in 1788 only two of these were left. In 1740 there were 10 furnaces in the Forest of Dean. Pig iron is still made in this district, but with coke as fuel. The iron industry of Kent and Sussex is now extinct. The last furnace in the Weald of Sussex, at Ashburnham, was blown out in 1829.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England imported iron largely from Sweden, and in the latter century both Russia and the American colonies contributed to her supply. The scarcity of timber for fuel for blast furnaces in England continuing, a proposition was made in the British Parliament in 1737 to bring all pig iron from the British colonies in America; and in 1750, to facilitate the importation of pig iron from these colonies, the duty which had previously been imposed for the protection of British ironmakers was repealed. At this time the business of manufacturing iron in some parts of Great Britain was conducted upon such primitive principles that both charcoal and iron ore were carried to the furnaces of Monmouthshire on the backs of horses.

Soon after the passage of the act of 1750 mineral coal in the form of coke came into general use in the manufacture of iron in England, and the iron trade of that country and of Wales at once revived, while that of Scotland may be said to have been created by the new fuel. The first successful use of mineral coal in the blast furnace was by Abraham Darby, of Shropshire, at his furnace at Coalbrookdale, in 1735. This coal was coked. In 1740 a coke furnace was built at Pontypool, in Monmouthshire. In 1796 charcoal furnaces had been almost entirely abandoned in Great Britain. The manufacture of pig iron with mineral coal was greatly facilitated by the invention of a cylindrical cast-iron bellows by John Smeaton in 1760, to take the place of wooden or leather bellows, and by the improvements made in the steam engine by James Watt about 1769—both these valuable accessions to blast-furnace machinery being used for the first time, through the influence of Dr. Roebuck, at the Carron iron works in Scotland. The effect of their introduction was to greatly increase the blast and consequently to increase the production of iron. The blast, however, continued to be cold air at all furnaces, both coke and charcoal, and so remained until 1828, when James B. Neilson, of Scotland, invented the hot-blast.

These and other changes in the manufacture of pig iron were speedily followed by equally important innovations in the manufacture of finished iron. In 1783 Henry Cort, of Gosport, England, obtained a patent for rolling iron into bars with grooved iron rolls, and in the following year he obtained a patent for converting pig iron into malleable iron by means of a puddling furnace. These patents did not relate to absolutely new inventions in the manufacture of iron, but to important improvements on existing methods, which had not, however, been generally employed. Mineral coal was now used in the puddling furnace as well as in the blast furnace; it had long been used in refineries. To the improvements introduced by Cort the iron trade of Great Britain is greatly indebted. The refining of pig iron in forges and its subsequent conversion into bars and plates under a tilt-hammer virtually formed the only method of producing finished iron down to Cort's day, both in Great Britain and on the Continent, and it was wholly inadequate to the production of large quantities of iron of this character. With mineral fuel, powerful blowing engines, the puddling furnace, and grooved rolls Great Britain rapidly passed to the front of all ironmaking nations.

The invention of crucible cast steel originated with Benjamin Huntsman, an English clockmaker, about the middle of the eighteenth century, and not only Sheffield, the principal seat of its manufacture and of the manufacture of fine cutlery, but all England as well, has greatly profited by his discovery.

We now turn from the iron industry of England to that of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

In the sixteenth century, owing to the scarcity of timber in England, some of the ironmasters of Sussex emigrated to Glamorganshire, in South Wales, where they founded the iron works of Aberdare and Merthyr Tydvil, and other iron works. Remains of the works in the Aberdare valley still exist, and Merthyr Tydvil is the center of a great iron industry to-day. In 1770 the first coke furnace in South Wales was built at Cyfarthfa. In 1788 there were six coke furnaces in South Wales. Cort's inventions were promptly appropriated by Welsh ironmasters.

According to Scrivenor, iron-ore mines were opened in Ireland by the English who settled in the country during the reign of Elizabeth, and iron itself was extensively manufactured in Ireland by the English during the reign of James the First and afterwards. The most extensive works were in the provinces of Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, and in the counties of Queens, Kings, and Thomond. In some instances iron ore was taken from England to the sea-coast of Ulster and Munster, in Ireland, the latter country then abounding in forests, but generally Ireland supplied both the ore and fuel. Most of the iron produced was in bars from forges, but ordnance, pots, and other articles were also cast in foundries or furnaces. The rebellion of 1641 put an end to many of the English iron works in Ireland, some valuable works in the county of Mayo escaping. In 1660 Sir William Petty established extensive

iron works in the county of Kerry, which continued in operation until the middle of the eighteenth century, when they were stopped in consequence of the scarcity of timber. In 1672 this gentleman stated that one thousand tons of iron were then made in Ireland. Near the close of the seventeenth century an act of the British Parliament remitted the duties on bar iron and on iron slit and hammered into bars imported from Ireland, the manufacturing industries of Ireland being then greatly depressed. The iron industry of Ireland survived until the reign of George the Second, in the early part of the eighteenth century, when it came to an end in consequence of the scarcity of timber, the competition of English iron, and the unsettled condition of the country. An effort was made to revive it at the close of the century, but it met with slight success. In 1840 there were no iron works in Ireland "going on." In 1857 there was but one furnace yet standing in Ireland. There are now no iron works in the country. Irish ores were imported into the United States in 1879 and 1880.

It has already been stated that iron was very scarce in Scotland in the closing centuries of the Middle Ages, Scotland obtaining all her supply of iron at that time from outside her borders. The Scotch, however, were noted during the period mentioned for the excellence of their swords and armor, the former vying in temper with those of Toledo and Milan. In Sir Walter Scott's story of *The Fair Maid of Perth*, the events of which are supposed to have occurred during the last years of the fourteenth century, the hero, Henry Gow, is an armorer—a forger of swords and bucklers and coats-of-mail. In 1547 an English chronicler wrote that "the Scots came with swords all broad and thin, of exceeding good temper, and universally so made to slice that I never saw none so good, so I think it hard to devise a better." Scotland had no noteworthy iron-producing industry of her own until the middle of the eighteenth century. It is conjectured, however, that her ancient inhabitants may have made iron in very small quantities, as pieces of iron slag were discovered in 1861 in the ruins of Celtic fortified towns in the Cheviot hills, on the border between England and Scotland. Mr. Richard Meade informs us that the earliest information bearing on iron smelting in Scotland dates from 1750, in which year the first furnace was erected at Bunawe, in Argyleshire, by a Mr. Ford. In this furnace the blast was driven by water-power obtained from the river Awe, the ore used being brought from Ulverstone, in Lancashire, while charcoal was exclusively used as fuel. The Bunawe furnace, now known as the Lorne, is still in existence, although not in operation. Previous to 1788 a similar furnace was erected at Goatfield, also in Argyleshire. In 1760 the first blast furnace at the celebrated Carron iron works, in Stirlingshire, was put in operation, where for some time charcoal was used. The manufacture of carronades was long a specialty of the Carron iron works. Mineral coal was soon substituted for charcoal at this furnace, and from that time forward the iron industry of Scotland was rapidly developed. In 1788 there were six coke furnaces in Scotland and the two charcoal furnaces of Bunawe and Goatfield.

The following statistics will show how rapidly the manufacture of pig iron in Great Britain has grown in the last hundred years. In 1788 there were 77 furnaces in England and Wales, and 8 furnaces in Scotland, the total production of which was 68,300 tons. Of the whole number of furnaces, 26 used charcoal and 59 used coke. The imports of iron by Great Britain in this year amounted to about 15,000 tons. In 1796 there were 104 furnaces in England and Wales, producing 108,793 tons of iron. In Scotland there were 17 furnaces, producing 16,086 tons. In 1806 there were 173 furnaces in Great Britain, producing 258,000 tons. In 1820 there were 284 furnaces, producing 400,000 tons. In 1827 the production was 690,500 tons. In 1840 it was 1,396,400 tons. In 1854 it rose to 3,069,838 tons. This quantity was then estimated to be fully one-half of the world's production of pig iron. The same proportion was steadily maintained by Great Britain for many years, but it is now lost. In 1857 Great Britain's production of pig iron was 3,659,447 tons, smelted from 9,573,281 tons of ore in 628 blast furnaces, of which 333 were in England, 170 in Wales, 124 in Scotland, and 1 in Ireland. In 1872 the product was 6,741,929 tons. In 1880 the production of pig iron by Great Britain was 7,749,233 tons. For several years there have been preserved only 4 charcoal furnaces in Great Britain, and these have produced but little iron. The whole number of blast furnaces in Great Britain in 1880 was 967, only 567 of which were in blast.

The eighteenth century marked a new era in many branches of manufacturing industry in which the British people have become prominent. It was the era of machinery, which then began to receive general attention as a substitute for hand labor. This era gave to the people of Great Britain the manufacture of Indian cotton goods, and it largely increased their woolen manufacture and assisted to develop their iron manufacture. It was in the eighteenth century that Great Britain, in consequence of her quick appreciation of the value of labor-saving machinery, became the first manufacturing nation in the world; in the preceding century four-fifths of the British working people were still farmers or farm laborers. During the latter part of the eighteenth century and the whole of the nineteenth century down to the present time no other country has occupied so conspicuous a position as Great Britain in the manufacture of iron and steel. Spain and Germany had in turn led modern nations in the production of these essentials of civilization, but Great Britain passed to the head when she began to make pig iron with the aid of mineral fuel and her powerful blowing engines. She had an abundance of iron ores and bituminous coal, and her people had applied to the utilization of these products their indomitable energy and newly-developed inventive genius. France, Germany, Belgium, and other Continental countries might have substituted mineral coal for charcoal, invented the puddling furnace, or perfected the rolling mill and the steam

engine, but none of them did. To England and also to Scotland is the world indebted for the inventions that gave a fresh impetus to the manufacture of iron in the eighteenth century; and it is also indebted to the same countries for most of the inventions and changes of the present century which have further developed the manufacture of iron and increased the demand for it, and which have almost created the manufacture of steel. Stephenson, the Englishman, improved the locomotive in 1815, and in 1825 the first passenger railroad in the world was opened in England, Stephenson's locomotive hauling the trains. Neilson, the Scotchman, invented the hot-blast in 1828; Crane, the Englishman, applied it to the manufacture of pig iron with anthracite coal in 1837; Nasmyth, the Scotchman, invented the steam hammer in 1838 and the pile driver in 1843; and Bessemer, the Englishman, invented in 1855 the process which bears his name, and which is the flower of all metallurgical achievements. The Siemens regenerative gas furnace, which has been so extensively used in the manufacture of iron and steel, is also an English invention, although the inventors, Charles William and Frederick Siemens, while citizens of England, are natives of Hanover, in Germany. That Great Britain did not at first seek to extend the influence of her new light and life to other countries, but by various acts of Parliament sought to prevent the introduction of her inventions and the emigration of her skilled artisans into those countries, is not here a subject for comment; nor is the strict adherence of Great Britain to a policy of protection to home industries by customs duties during many centuries and down to almost the middle of the present century a subject of comment. Both measures undoubtedly fostered the growth of British manufacturing industries, and in the end the world was benefited by British inventions, which found their way across the British channel and the Atlantic ocean, and by the example of British energy and British enterprise in the utilization of native manufacturing resources.

EARLY PROCESSES IN THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON.

Except incidentally the various processes for the manufacture of iron which were in use in the early ages of the world's history, as well as in more recent times, have not been referred to in the preceding pages. Further notice of some of the processes that were successively in use before the present century seems, however, to be desirable, if for no other reason than to show how rude and unproductive were those processes in comparison with the improved methods that are now in use, and with which the reader is more or less familiar.

The methods of manufacturing iron that were in use in Asia and Africa in the earliest ages were few in number and of extreme simplicity. All of them produced wrought iron with the aid of wood or charcoal as fuel, although steel was also produced by some of them. One of these early processes, which still exists in Burmah, required no artificial blast. A perpendicular circular excavation, ten or twelve feet deep and open at the top, was made in the side of a bank or hillock, in which ore and fuel were placed in alternate layers, and to which the necessary draft for combustion was applied through one or more openings near the bottom. The product was a lump, or bloom, of iron. Another process applied an artificial blast to a small excavation in the ground, or to a low furnace built of clay and standing alone, the product also being a lump of iron. This artificial blast was supplied by bellows, which were usually made of goat skins, having a nozzle or tuyere of bamboo or burnt clay, and were worked by the feet or hands. Goat-skin bellows are in use in India and in the interior of Africa to-day in connection with clay furnaces. It is interesting to note the fact that the bellows and its tuyere, or nozzle, both of which in some form are in universal use to-day wherever iron is made, are undoubtedly of prehistoric origin, and that they are still used in their original simplicity in the manufacture of iron. In some parts of India, and in China, Japan, Borneo, and Madagascar, blowing cylinders of wood or bamboo, having valves and pistons, and worked like a pump by manual labor, are now used, and were probably used in remote ages. The bloom of iron, whether produced by natural or artificial blast, was reheated, and freed from impurities and adhering charcoal by repeated hammering, in the course of which refining operation it would be divided into suitable parts for practical use. The fire of the smith who would give to the iron its final shape would be supplied with a goat-skin or bamboo blast. The blacksmiths of India use a blast of this character at the present time. The ore which was smelted by these primitive processes was broken into small pieces and otherwise carefully prepared. In some parts of India and in some other Asiatic countries the ore was magnetic and well adapted to the manufacture of steel.

The celebrated Indian steel, or wootz, which is chiefly used for the manufacture of sword blades, is obtained at the present time by remelting pieces of native iron in small crucibles, which are about four inches high, containing finely-chopped wood, the crucibles being placed in a furnace heated with a blast supplied by bellows made usually of goat skins or bamboo cylinders. To reduce excessive carbonization, and to soften the steel so that it may be drawn into bars, the lumps or cakes of steel thus obtained are heated in a charcoal fire blown by a bellows, the current of air being made to play upon the cakes while they are turned over before it. Thousands of years ago the process was the same that it is now. China is said by Day, in his *Prehistoric Uses of Iron and Steel*, to have made steel long before the Christian era by immersing wrought iron in a bath of cast iron.

The manner in which the air was expelled from the goat-skin bellows of antiquity doubtless varied in different countries, but the pressure of the feet of one workman on two such bellows, attached to a common nozzle or tuyere,

was probably the method in most general use. This method is still used in Africa. Wilkinson, in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, quoted by Day, mentions his discovery on the walls of a tomb built in the reign of Thothmes the Third, at Thebes, about fifteen centuries before the Christian era, of the picture of an Egyptian furnace and bellows, with two workmen engaged in expelling with their feet the air from as many pairs of bellows, "consisting of flexible bags formed of the skins of animals, and each provided with a cord which the operator holds in his hands. From each of these flexible bags a tube proceeds into the heap of fuel and ore, and the blast is produced by the operator transferring the weight of his body alternately from one foot to the other. The bags are inflated by pulling up the upper part by the cord, this upper part having a hole or valve therein for allowing the air to enter, and which is closed by the heel of the operator on his again transferring his weight to it."

The processes which have been briefly described, or modifications of them, were adopted in Europe when that continent commenced to make iron. The manufacture of iron in Belgium and in England without the aid of an artificial blast, about the time of the Christian era, has already been referred to. It is not known whether other European countries ever made iron in the same way. At Lustin, in Belgium, between Namur and Dinant, two ancient furnaces or bloomaries were discovered in 1870, on the top of a hill, with iron yet remaining in them. They consisted of simple oval excavations with rounded bottoms in a bed of clay, 12 feet long and 9 feet wide, with a depth in the middle of about 3 feet, the top being level with the surface of the surrounding soil. A channel excavated in the clay, but covered over with stones, conducted the wind into the lower portion of each furnace. The opening of this channel was turned in the direction of the prevailing wind, so that iron could only have been made on windy days. These bloomaries contained lumps of crude wrought iron. Mr. James Rock has given us an account of the Roman cinder heaps or mounds now to be seen in Sussex, England, and which are associated with the manufacture of iron without an artificial blast by smelting the ore either in heaps or in rude furnaces. By the heaping method the ore and charcoal were placed in alternate layers.

As no evidence exists that iron was ever made by the Romans in the south of Europe without the aid of an artificial blast, it may be fairly assumed that the Belgian furnaces above described and the methods of manufacture in Sussex which are described by Mr. Rock were of native origin. The Romans may for a time have continued the native practice, especially as the manufacture of iron in both Belgium and Britain would be mainly confined to the native inhabitants, but long before their withdrawal from these countries in the fifth century the superior practice of southern Europe would be introduced.

In the south of Europe the bellows was certainly used to produce a blast long before the Roman invasion of Britain. Homer, quoted by Fairbairn, "represents Hephæstus as throwing the materials from which the shield of Achilles was to be forged into a furnace urged by twenty pairs of bellows." The bellows first used by the Greeks were probably made of goat skins, but subsequently, as early as the third century before Christ, larger and more powerful bellows were made of ox hides, and larger furnaces or bloomaries were erected. These larger bellows were substantially the same as the common blacksmith's bellows of our day, and they would be used by the Greeks and Romans in smelting the ore as well as in refining and shaping the iron. Of their furnaces or forges we know but little. Virgil, who lived in the first century before Christ, gives us in the Fourth Georgic a view of a refinery forge as it doubtless existed among the Romans at his day, although located by the poet in a fabulous age.

As when the Cyclops, at th' almighty nod,
New thunder hasten for their angry god,
Subdued in fire the stubborn metal lies:
One brawny smith the puffing bellows plies,
And draws and blows reciprocating air:
Others to quench the hissing mass prepare:
With lifted arms they order every blow
And chime their sounding hammers in a row:
With labored anvils Etna groans below.
Strongly they strike; huge flakes of flames expire;
With tongs they turn the steel and vex it in the fire.

Diodorus of Sicily, quoted by Scrivenor, mentions the iron ores of Elba, "which the natives dig and cut out of the ground to melt, in order for the making of iron, much of which metal is in this sort of stone. The workmen employed first cut the stone in pieces, and then melt them in furnaces built and prepared for the purpose. In these furnaces the stones, by the violent heat of the fire, are melted into several pieces in form like great sponges, which the merchants buy by truck and exchange of other wares, and export them to Dicœarchea and other mart towns. Some of these merchants that buy of these wares cause them to be wrought by the coppersmiths, who beat and fashion them into all sorts of tools, instruments, and other shapes and fancies; some they neatly beat into the shape of birds, others into spades, hooks, and other sorts of utensils, all which are transported and carried about into several parts of the world by the merchants." This account was written in the first century before Christ.

Pliny describes the various kinds of iron and steel which were in use in his day, the first century after Christ, but gives us little insight into the methods by which they were produced. In the following obscure description he seems to have intended to show that both iron and steel were made in the same furnace, and that the quality of

both these products varied greatly. He says: "There is a great difference, too, in the smelting, some kinds producing knurrs of metal, which are especially adapted for hardening into steel, or else, prepared in another manner, for making thick anvils or heads of hammers. But the main difference results from the quality of the water into which the red-hot metal is plunged from time to time. The water, which is in some places better for this purpose than in others, has quite ennobled some localities for the excellence of their iron, Bilbilis, for example, and Turiasso in Spain, and Comum in Italy, and this although there are no iron mines in these spots. It is a remarkable fact that when the ore is fused the metal becomes liquefied like water, and afterwards acquires a spongy, brittle texture. It is the practice to quench the smaller articles made of iron with oil, lest by being hardened in water they should be rendered brittle. Iron which has been acted upon by fire is spoiled unless it is forged with the hammer. It is not in a fit state for being hammered when it is red hot, nor, indeed, until it has begun to assume a white heat."

In Spain, as we have seen, iron and steel were made many centuries before Pliny's time, the Catalan forge, or a modification of it, being used, and the product being either wrought iron or steel. The Catalan forge differed in no essential particular from an ordinary blacksmith's fire. The Corsican forge, which also existed before the Christian era, was a modification of the Catalan forge. The blast for these forges is presumed to have been primarily furnished by bellows made of goat skins or the skins of other animals, but afterwards the improved Grecian and Roman bellows, the same as our blacksmith's bellows, were substituted. Bauerman cites Franquoy as authority for the statement that bellows with valves were introduced by the Romans into Gaul during the fourth century of the Christian era.

Percy copies the following description of an old Catalan forge in Spain: "In 1823, at Bielsa, in Aragon, in the Spanish Pyrenees, some charcoal burners discovered in a forest of silver firs a small circular iron furnace only 2 feet and 1.59 inches high. The lower part or hearth was cylindrical up to the height of about 11.81 inches and then terminated in an inverted truncated cone; its diameter was 14.25 inches at the lower and 1.69 inches at the upper part; it had two tuyere beds at 11.81 inches from the bottom. Near the furnace were found two crude lumps of iron in the state in which they appeared to have been taken out, and which weighed from 30.9 pounds to 35.3 pounds. According to tradition the blast in these furnaces was produced with bellows of skin worked by hand. Accumulations of ancient slags are met with at high elevations in the Pyrenees, far from any water-course, and which doubtless were urged by a blast produced by manual labor."

An analysis of the piece of iron found under the Egyptian obelisk which was recently removed to New York shows that it must have been made by the direct process, and probably in a Catalan forge. The analysis, which was made for Mr. A. L. Holley by Dr. August Wendel, of Troy, is here preserved.

Iron	98.738	Copper	0.102
Carbon	0.521	Calcium	0.218
Sulphur	0.009	Magnesium	0.028
Silicon	0.017	Aluminium	0.070
Phosphorus	0.048	Slag	0.150
Manganese	0.116		
Nickel } Cobalt }	0.079	Total	100.096

Mr. Holley says that a clean fracture of the iron was similar to that of puddled steel, and mentions the further fact that the small amount of slag, as well as the fine fracture, indicates frequent reworking.

Much light is thrown upon the methods of manufacturing iron which prevailed in the south of Europe at the beginning of the Christian era by the discovery in 1870 of two ancient bloomaries or melting hearths in the vicinity of Huttenberg, in Carinthia, on the Huttenberg railway. The place where these hearths were found is embraced within the limits of the ancient province of Noricum. Maw and Dredge thus describe these hearths:

In the year 1870 a most interesting discovery was made during the construction of the Huttenberg railway. In a cutting a set of iron melting-hearths of Roman and Celtic times was found 6 feet below the present surface of the ground. These hearths consist of two holes or ditches, the upper one being supposed to have served as a calcining kiln, whilst the lower one represents the smelting furnace proper. These hearths were found near the mines of spathic ore in the neighborhood of Huttenberg.

The calcining hearth is fitted with a layer of charcoal 1½ inches thick, upon which a 10-inch layer of clay forms the inside lining of the hearth. This lining was found burnt by the action of the calcining fire to a depth of 4 inches. The depth of the hearth is 2 feet, and its diameter 5 feet. The second or smelting hearth is placed at a distance of 16 feet from the former, and is 3 feet deep and 4 feet wide. The lining consists of a layer of 6-inch clay, upon which a fire-brick mass, consisting of clay and quartz, is uniformly spread to a thickness of 12 inches. This lining is burnt and glazed to a depth of 3 inches at the inner side, thus recording the higher temperature in this hearth during the smelting operation.

Both hearths are filled with *débris* of burnt clay and slag crumbled down from the walls of the hearths, which seem to have been raised one foot above the surface of the ground. The space between the two hearths is paved with stones. The slag contains many unburnt pieces of charcoal. The analysis of the slag has proved that the yield of the spathic ore in use, containing from 50 to 60 per cent. of iron, was only 15 to 20 per cent. The blast seems to have been furnished by bellows from the top of the furnaces. A Roman cornice has been found near the smelting hearth.

These discoveries point out a very primitive process as compared with our present means of iron smelting; but centuries vanished before any real improvements were introduced. Nevertheless we find that the preparatory calcination of the ore previous to its being introduced in the smelting furnace is a very ancient mode of economizing labor and fuel.

It is not at all probable that the blast for these Norican hearths was supplied in any other way than by means of a leather bellows.

The various processes which have been referred to were all *direct* processes, the iron or steel being obtained directly from the ore. The furnaces, whether high or low, large or small, were all *bloomaries*, because the product derived from the heated ore was obtained in the form of a lump or bloom of malleable iron or steel. If cast iron was sometimes obtained by the Mediterranean nations, or by Asiatic and African ironworkers, very little evidence exists that it was run into moulds for the production of useful or ornamental castings. The weakness of the blast furnished by goat skins, bamboo, or the early blacksmith's bellows renders it highly improbable that much cast iron was ever obtained by any of the ancient processes. Aristotle, who lived in the fourth century before Christ, has left an account of the manner in which the Greeks of his day converted wrought iron into steel, which furnishes some evidence that they were also familiar with cast iron. He is quoted by Day as follows: "Wrought iron itself may be cast so as to be made liquid and to harden again; and thus it is they are wont to make steel; for the scoria of iron subsides and is purged off by the bottom; and when it is often defecated and made clean this is steel. But this they do not often because of the great waste and because it loses much weight in refining; but iron is so much the more excellent the less recrement it has." The quotation from Pliny on the preceding page contains the most direct evidence we have of the making of cast iron by the Romans. But, if the Mediterranean nations, and particularly the Greeks and Romans, knew how to make and utilize cast iron, this knowledge became one of the lost arts, for there is no authentic mention of cast iron having been made in the northern and western parts of Europe until about five hundred years ago, and if the Chinese, Japanese, and the people of India possessed the art they kept it to themselves and made but little use of it.

From the first to the eighth century of the Christian era the history of the manufacture of iron in all European countries is greatly obscured, and the processes which were in operation cannot be described. In Asia and Africa the art had previously received less and less attention through the gradual transfer of political power and of civilization to the northern shores of the Mediterranean. But Greece, which had received much of this power and had absorbed most of this civilization, had in turn surrendered her leadership to Rome, and in the fifth century after Christ Rome herself fell before the northern barbarians. Except in Spain, where the Visigoths established a powerful empire in the fifth century, under which the arts of ancient civilization were encouraged, the iron industry is nowhere throughout Europe known to have flourished from the period when Rome commenced her final struggle with the northern invaders down to about the beginning of the eighth century. At this time we begin to hear of the iron industry taking a fresh start in many European countries—experiencing what in modern phrase we term a revival. And with this revival we hear authentically for the first time of the wolf furnace, or *stückofen*, in Austria, Bohemia, Germany, and other Continental countries.

The wolf furnace, or *stückofen*, was a high bloomary, and as such was simply an enlargement of the primitive low bloomaries or forges. Percy says that the *stückofen* "is only a Catalan furnace extended upwards in the form of a quadrangular or circular shaft. The Germans call it *stück* or *wolf's ofen* because the large metallic mass which is extracted from the bottom is termed *stück* or *wolf*." Overman says that these furnaces or bloomaries, of which there yet remain a few in Hungary and Spain, are generally from 10 to 16 feet high, 2 feet wide at the top and bottom, and about 5 feet wide at the widest part. The early wolf furnaces were, however, not more than 10 feet high. An opening in the front, about 2 feet square, called the breast, was kept open until the furnace was heated, when, coincidently with the closing of the breast with brick, the ore and charcoal were thrown into the furnace and the blast was applied from "at least two bellows and nozzles, both on the same side." The product was a mass, or salamander, of mixed iron and steel, which was taken out of the breast and reduced under the tilt-hammer to blooms and under smaller hammers to bars and other forms. The salamander, which usually weighed from 400 to 700 pounds, was first cut into two nearly equal parts, which were called *stücke*. At Eisenerz, in Austria, as stated by Jars, quoted by Percy, "the lump was first cut half through in the center with hatchets by two men, each having one. It was afterwards completely divided by means of wedges and large hammers." The annual production of a wolf furnace was from 100 to 150 tons. Overman further says: "By this method good iron as well as steel is always furnished; in fact, the salamander consists of a mixture of iron and steel; of the latter skillful workmen may save a considerable amount. The blooms are a mixture of fibrous iron, steel, and cast iron. The latter flows into the bottom of the forge fire, in which the blooms are reheated, and is then converted into bar iron by the same method adopted to convert common pig iron. If the steel is not sufficiently separated it is worked along with the iron." At Solling, in Carinthia, a wolf furnace was erected in 1775 which was provided with two common bellows worked by water-wheels, each bellows being 8 feet long and 3¾ feet broad.

While there can be no doubt that the earliest wolf furnaces were blown with leather bellows, it is not known when water-power was first used as a substitute for manual labor in producing the blast. Water-power for grinding grain is said by Knight in his *Mechanical Dictionary* to have been used about the beginning of the Christian era. In Flower's *History of the Trade in Tin* will be found two very interesting illustrations of the manner in which the bellows and tilt-hammer were operated by water-power in France in 1714. Prior to the introduction of water-power, bellows were doubtless chiefly operated by the feet or hands. Horse-power has been used for the same purpose since the introduction of water-power, and was probably so used before that period.

The osmund furnace, which is said by Percy to have been intermediate between the Catalan forge and the *stückofen*, but which closely resembled the latter in all particulars, was formerly in use in Norway, Sweden, and other parts of Europe, principally for smelting bog or lake ore, and it is still used in Finland. It was abandoned in Sweden during the last century. It derived its name from the Swedish word *osmund*, "which was applied to the bloom produced in this kind of furnace." Percy reproduces from Swedish sources two drawings of an osmund furnace, from which it would appear that it was about 7 feet high, rectangular in shape, with an opening or breast near the bottom similar to that of the *stückofen*, and was blown through one tuyere with two ordinary blacksmith's bellows, worked with treadles by a woman's feet. The ore used in Sweden was first calcined before being placed in the furnace, wood being used for calcining and charcoal for smelting. The product was good malleable iron, which was taken out of the breast in a lump or *osmund*. Not more than 1½ tons of iron could be produced in this furnace in a week.

Percy says: "The transition from the old bloomary to the modern blast furnace was very gradual, and the *stückofen* is the final development of the furnaces in which iron in the malleable state was produced direct from the ore. By increasing the dimensions of the *stückofen*, especially its height, the conditions favorable to the formation of cast iron are obtained; and, indeed, in the *stückofen* cast iron was generally, if not always, produced in greater or less degree, to the annoyance of the smelter."

According to Percy the *stückofen* was gradually superseded by the modern blast furnace, the first furnace which replaced the *stückofen* being the *blauofen*, or blow oven. He says that "originally there was no essential difference between them, these names being applied according to the nature of the metal which they yielded, and not in consequence of difference of construction"—malleable iron being obtained with less charcoal than was used when cast iron was desired. "When the *blauofen* was used as a *stückofen* it was only necessary to make an opening in the fore part of the hearth large enough for the extraction of the lump. One essential condition in working the furnace as a *stückofen* was to allow the slag free escape during the process, so that the lump of iron accumulating in the hearth might never be covered with slag, and so be protected from the action of the blast." Cast iron was first regularly made in a *stückofen* or *blauofen* about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The *flussofen* was the same furnace as the *blauofen*. "Blast furnace" may properly be substituted for either term.

The Continental nations of Europe are entitled to the credit of having fully developed the blast furnace from the primitive method of producing iron by the bloomary or Catalan forge. The virtual perfection of the blast furnace by the Germans, the Belgians, and the French in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries marked a great advance in the art of manufacturing iron, and greatly enlarged the uses to which it could be applied. The nations which have been mentioned were also the first among modern nations to cast iron in moulds, Germany and France being especially noted at an early day for the artistic excellence of their iron castings.

The Catalan forge, with its modifications, continued to be used during the periods covered by the development of the blast furnace, and, as has already been stated, it is still in use in many countries, it being especially adapted to the conversion of pure ores into malleable iron of superior quality. A modification of the Catalan forge, called the German bloomary, consisting more, however, in the treatment of the ore than in the construction of the hearth and its connections, was long very popular in Germany and in the United States, but it has now been almost entirely abandoned in both countries. After the commencement of the manufacture of cast or pig iron, refinery forges suited to the conversion of this product into wrought iron became necessary, but they did not differ in any essential details of construction or application from the ordinary Catalan forge. Refinery forges have sometimes been called bloomaries, because pig iron is by them first reduced to a bloom before it is still further refined; but properly speaking a bloomary is a forge that converts ore into wrought iron by the direct process. The word "bloomary" is of Anglo-Saxon origin, the Anglo-Saxon word *bloma*, from which it is derived, meaning a mass, or lump. In *Doomsday-Book* the expression *bloma ferri* occurs several times.

In *The Forest of Dean* Nicholls quotes a most interesting description of the blast furnaces and refinery forges of England in the latter part of the seventeenth century. It has already been mentioned that the blast furnace was introduced into England from the Continent about the beginning of the fifteenth century. The author, after recording events which occurred on April 27, 1680, exactly two hundred years ago, says: "The mode then in use of operating upon the iron ore as described in MS. by Dr. Parsons will be found in Appendix No. 5." This description is as follows:

> After they have provided their ore their first work is to calcine it, which is done in kilns, much after the fashion of our ordinary lime kilns; these they fill up to the top with coal and ore until it be full, and so, putting fire to the bottom, they let it burn till the coal be wasted, and then renew the kilns with fresh ore and coal. This is done without any infusion of mettal, and serves to consume the more drossy part of the ore, and to make it fryable, supplying the beating and washing, which are to no other mettals; from hence they carry it to their furnaces, which are built of brick and stone, about 24 foot square on the outside, and near 30 foot in height within, and not over 8 or 10 foot over where it is the widest, which is about the middle, the top and bottom having a narrow compass, much like the form of an egg. Behind the furnace are placed two high pair of bellows, whose noses meet at a little hole near the bottom; these are compressed together by certain buttons placed on the axis of a very large wheel, which is turned round by water, in the manner of an overshot mill. As soon as these buttons are slid off the bellows are raised again by a counterpoise of weights, whereby they are made to play alternately, the one giving its blast while the other is rising.
>
> At first they fill these furnaces with ore and cinder intermixt with fuel, which in these works is always charcoal, laying them hollow,

at the bottom, that they may the more easily take fire; but after they are once kindled the materials run together into an hard cake or lump, which is sustained by the furnace, and through this the mettal as it runs trickles down the receivers, which are placed at the bottom, where there is a passage open, by which they take away the scum and dross, and let out their mettal as they see occasion. Before the mouth of the furnace lyeth a great bed of sand, where they make furrows of the fashion they desire to cast their iron. Into these, when the receivers are full, they let in their mettal, which is made so very fluid by the violence of the fire that it not only runs to a considerable distance, but stands afterwards boiling a great while. After these furnaces are once at work they keep them constantly employed for many months together, never suffering the fire to slacken night or day, but still supplying the waste of fuel and other materials with fresh, poured in at the top.

Several attempts have been made to bring in the use of the sea coal in these workes instead of charcoal; the former being to be had at an easy rate, the latter not without a great expence, but hitherto they have proved ineffectual, the workmen finding by experience that a sea coal fire, how vehement soever, will not penetrate the most fixed parts of the ore, by which means they leave much of the mettal behind them unmelted.

From these furnaces they bring the sows and piggs of iron, as they call them, to their forges; these are two sorts, though they stood together under the same roof; one they call their finery, and the other chafers; both of them are upon hearths, upon which they place great heaps of sea coal, and behind them bellows like those of the furnaces, but nothing near so large.

In such finerys they first put their piggs of iron, placing three or four of them together behind the fire, with a little of one end thrust into it, where softening by degrees they stir and work them with long barrs of iron till the mettal runs together in a round masse or lump, which they call an half bloome: this they take out, and, giving it a few strokes with their sledges, they carry it to a great weighty hammer, raised likewise by the motion of a water-wheel, where, applying it dexterously to the blows, they presently beat it into a thick short square; this they put into the finery again, and, heating it red hot, they work it under the same hammer till it comes to the shape of a bar in the middle, with two square knobs in the ends; last of all they give it other heatings in the chaffers, and more workings under the hammer, till they have brought their iron into barrs of several shapes, in which fashion they expose them to sale.

All their principal iron undergoes the aforementioned preparations, yet for several other purposes, as for backs of chimneys, hearths of ovens, and the like, they have a sort of cast iron, which they take out of the receivers of the furnace, so soon as it is melted, in great ladles, and pour it into the moulds of fine sand in like manner as they do cast brass and softer mettals; but this sort of iron is so very brittle that, being heated, with one blow of the hammer it breaks all to pieces.

John Ray, the naturalist, writing a little earlier, in 1674, has also fully described the blast furnaces and forges which existed in England two hundred years ago. In speaking of the forges he says that "the bloom was a four-square mass, two feet long, prepared by beating a loop, or mass of metal weighing about three-fourths cwt., with iron sledges upon an iron plate, and afterwards with the forge-hammer worked by water. This was called shingling the loop. After two or three more heats at the finery the mass was brought to an ancony, the middle of which was a square bar of the desired size, and the two ends of rough square lumps. At the chafery the bar was completed by reducing the ends to a uniform size with the middle portion. A man and boy at the finery would make two tons of iron per week, and two men at the chafery would make five or six tons a week." John Houghton, in his *Husbandry and Trade Improved*, printed in 1697, calls the thick square first made a half bloom, and the bar with the two knobs a bloom, the greater end being called the mocket head, and the smaller the ancony end. At the fourth heat, of which there were five in all, the mocket head, and at the fifth the ancony end, was reduced to the state of a bar.

Wooden bellows, or "tubs," as a substitute for leather bellows in connection with blast furnaces, do not appear to have been used in England at the close of the seventeenth century, although said to have been invented by Hans Lobsinger in 1550. They were certainly used in Germany eighty years later, in 1630, and in various parts of Great Britain in the eighteenth century. In 1750 leather bellows were used to blow the charcoal furnaces in Monmouthshire. As late as 1809 leather bellows, 22 feet long and having oak planks two inches thick, were still used in blowing some Scotch furnaces.

The *trompe*, or water-blast, is said to have been invented in Italy in 1640. Its use has been almost entirely confined to the Catalan forges of France, Spain, and Italy. Although now generally abandoned, as have been the Catalan forges which called it into existence, it may still be found supplying the blast for a few forges in Europe and in the southern part of the United States. Professor J. P. Lesley thus described, in 1858, the water-blast which was then in use in the southern states in connection with Catalan forges, or bloomaries:

> The use of the water-blast is all but universal. It consists of a box, say 5 by 2½ by 1½ feet deep, nearly immersed in the stream, directly underneath the forebay or flume. The water rushes down into its upper end from the forebay through a wooden pipe, say 8 inches square, separated in two by a space of an inch or two, as if the two joints of a stove-pipe had parted that much. Into this slit air is sucked by the falling water and driven out through another 3-inch tube at the lower end. Inside the box, and parallel with its lid, a plank called the "spatter-board" is set a few inches below the first tube. The water escapes from a hole under the water-level at the lower end of the box. This apparatus gives a cold, damp blast, with a great waste of water, but one that is very uniform.

The origin of the rolling mill for rolling iron into bars or plates seems to be involved in obscurity. Scrivenor, quoting from *Coxe's Tour in Monmouthshire*, says that "in the early part of the eighteenth century John Hanbury invented the method of rolling iron plates by means of cylinders." Flower, in his *History of the Trade in Tin*, alluding to the establishment of the manufacture of tin plates at Pontypool, says that "the discovery of sheet-iron rolling followed in 1728, an invention claimed alike by John Payne and by Major Hanbury, and it was in a great measure owing to this improvement that we were enabled to turn the tables upon Germany. The tinmen were greatly delighted with the English plates; the color was better, and the rolled plates were found to be more pliable than the foreign ones which were hammered." The following statement is taken from Ure's *Dictionary of the Arts*: "In 1728 John Payne invented a process for rolling iron. This seems to have at once led to the use of the flat or

sheet rolls for the manufacture of iron for tin plates; but it is very remarkable that no further progress was made in this discovery of rolling iron until 1783, when Henry Cort introduced the grooved rolls." Percy says: "With respect to the invention of grooved rolls it has been maintained that Cort's claim is invalidated by the old patent granted to John Payne in 1728." It is certain, however, that even plain rolls did not come into general use until the rolling mill had been perfected by Cort—the refinery fire, the leather bellows, the tilting-hammer, and the water-wheel still holding their place in the manufacture of finished iron on the Continent and in England.

Dr. Johnson, in the diary of his tour in Wales and Monmouthshire in 1774, says that at an iron works he saw "round bars formed by a notched hammer and anvil," and that at a copper works he saw "a plate of copper put hot between steel rollers and spread thin." The whole passage in the diary is as follows:

Wednesday, August 3 [1774]. * * * We went in the coach to Holywell. * * * We there saw a brass work, where the *lapis calaminaris* is gathered, broken, washed from the earth and the lead, though how the lead was separated I did not see; then calcined, afterwards ground fine, and then mixed by fire with copper. We saw several strong fires with melting pots, but the construction of the fire-places I did not learn. At a copper work, which receives its pigs of copper, I think, from Warrington, we saw a plate of copper put hot between steel rollers and spread thin. I know not whether the upper roller was set to a certain distance, as I suppose, or acted only by its weight. At an iron works I saw round bars formed by a notched hammer and anvil. There I saw a bar of about half an inch or more square cut with shears worked by water, and then beaten hot into a thinner bar. The hammers, all worked as they were by water, acting upon small bodies, moved very quickly, as quick as by the hand. I then saw wire drawn and gave a shilling.

We find that, on November 21, 1728, John Payne, an Englishman, obtained a patent for various improvements in the manufacture of iron, which consisted in part in the application of certain ashes, salt, etc., to pig or sow iron while in the refinery fire, "which will render the same into a state of malleability, as to bear the stroke of the hammer, to draw it into barrs or other forms at the pleasure of the workman, and those or other barrs being treated in the said melted ingredients in a long hott arch or cavern, as hereafter is described; and those or other barrs are to pass between two large mettall rowlers (which have proper notches or furrows upon their surfass), by the force of my engine hereafter described, or other power, into such shapes and forms as shall be required."

Other patents were subsequently granted in England for the invention of rolls of various forms for rolling bar iron. In 1759 a patent was granted to Thomas Blockley for rolls which "are to be turned and formed of the requisite shape so as to shape the article as intended." In 1779 a patent was granted to William Bell for rolls which "have designs sunk in their surfaces." Cort, however, is entitled to the credit of so improving upon all previous suggestions that the rolling mill in his hands became a successful invention.

In John Houghton's *Husbandry and Trade Improved*, printed in 1697, he speaks of slitting and rolling mills as *a new invention*. This is the earliest reference we have found to a rolling mill in connection with a slitting mill. Such use of a rolling mill undoubtedly preceded its use for any other purpose in connection with the manufacture of iron. In Flower's *History of the Trade in Tin* the manufacture of tin plates at Mansvaux, in Alsace, in 1714, is fully described, and it is noticeable that the sheet iron then used was hammered. This description, which is illustrated, sustains the claim that John Payne or Major Hanbury was the first person to roll sheet iron fourteen years later, in 1728—an innovation which probably grew out of the use of the rolling mill in the manufacture of nail plates as early as 1697, as recorded by John Houghton.

A letter of inquiry to Professor Richard Akerman, of the Stockholm School of Mines, Sweden, requesting such information as might be in his possession concerning the origin of the slitting mill and the rolling mill, was answered as follows:

That slitting mills were in use before rolling mills is most probable and nearly certain. At the beginning of this century there could still be found slitting mills in which hammered but not rolled iron was slit. But all slitting mills were not made on the principle of rolling mills; many of them more resembled scissors.

The first publication about rolling mills in this country which I have seen or know about is *De Ferro*, by Emanuel Swedenborg, which was printed in 1734. Swedenborg speaks both about slitting machines on the principle of scissors, cutting three rods at a time, and about slitting mills in connection with rolling mills. He describes slitting mills in Sweden, in the Liège district of Belgium, in Germany, and in England; but he does not say a single word about where he thinks they originated. *Swedenborg does not say anything about grooved rolls.* In fact, he only describes rolling mills in connection with slitting mills. On page 253 he speaks about Swedish rolling mills at Wedewag, Avesta, and Stjernsund.

On the contrary, Christopher Polhem, in his *Patriotiska Testamente*, which was printed in 1761, ten years after his death, when he was 90 years old, speaks about rolling mills as such, both for plates and bar iron. He says, in chapter 14, "much time and labor can be saved by good rolling mills, because a rolling mill can produce 10 to 20 and still more bars at the same time which is wanted to tilt only one bar with the hammer. Thus very thin bar iron can be made which is useful for hoops and mountings of several kinds. Steel also can be rolled out for knife blades, etc., which easily can be finished by the blacksmith. The rolls can be so made that the knife-steel becomes broad and thin on both sides, or gets the same shape as blades of common swords, and these can be cut lengthwise in two parts, thus giving suitable material for knives, etc. Rolls also can be made for producing quadrangular, round, and half round bars, not only for iron but also for steel, as for all kinds of files which easily can be finished by the blacksmith."

In the next chapter Polhem describes the manner of making wrought-iron rolls covered with steel. Further on in the same chapter he speaks of rolls for rolling sheets: "As such rolls commonly have a length of three quarters, it follows that their diameter must be rather large; but, as thick rolls in comparison with slender ones have only a small effect in stretching, broad sheets cannot be rolled. If not, two slender wrought-iron rolls are put between the two thick cast-iron rolls, which prevent the slender rolls from yielding. Such rolls I have put up at Stjernsund after having tried their effect by experiments on a small scale." After mentioning economical difficulties, in consequence of which he was obliged to leave unused both this and other expensive machines, he concludes with the following words: "Yet I willingly grant to others, who perhaps will live during more happy times, what I have not got opportunity to use for myself."

Polhem says nothing about the time when he put up the said rolling mill, but, if you remember that he was born 1661 and died 1751, it seems probable that it must have been during the first decades of the eighteenth century. Christopher Polhem was the greatest mechanical genius Sweden has ever produced, but whether he was the very first inventor of rolling mills it is impossible for me to say. At any rate he ought to be mentioned among the inventors of rolling mills. In fact, Polhem must be said to be the real inventor of what you call the Lauth rolling mill. The only difference is that Polhem used four rolls above each other, two small between two large ones.

Gabriel Polhem, a son of Christopher Polhem, in the *Transactions of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences* for 1740, gives a description of a rolling mill, "the invention of my father," which he (Gabriel Polhem) put up at the mint in Cassel, Germany. He says that the officers of the mint did not believe that a rolling mill could be of any use for the mint, but he was in 1733 ordered by King Frederic to put it up, and it proved most useful for getting more uniform thickness and weight of the coins. From this and other expressions in the description it is quite clear that the said rolling mill was the very first put up at any mint, but not long afterwards a rolling mill also was put up at the Swedish mint.

The methods of producing steel which were in use before Huntsman succeeded in making crucible steel near Sheffield, about 1750, were substantially only three in number. The first method, variously modified, was either closely allied to or wholly identical with the direct or Catalan process for producing iron, the product being either natural or German steel. The second method was the Indian process for manufacturing small cakes of steel in crucibles, the product being wootz, or Indian steel. The third method was the cementation process, in which bars of the best iron were carbonized by being heated in contact with charcoal, blistered steel being the result. All of these methods are yet in use. Since Huntsman's invention there have been many other improvements in the manufacture of steel, and more recently there has been a very great relative increase in its production and use as compared with iron, until it has become a hackneyed expression that this is the age of steel. While this is true in the sense that steel is replacing iron, it is well to remember that the ancients made steel of excellent quality, and that the art of manufacturing it was never lost and has never been neglected. The swords of Damascus and the blades of Toledo bear witness to the skill in the manufacture of steel which was possessed by the older nations of both Asia and Europe. German steel was celebrated for its excellence during the Middle Ages, and steel of the same name and made by the same processes still occupies an honorable place among metallurgical products. Even Huntsman's invention of the art of making the finest quality of steel in crucibles, while meritorious in itself, was but the reproduction in a modern age of a process for manufacturing steel of equal quality which was known to the people of India thousands of years ago.

With the exception of the blast furnace, which was slowly developed from the high bloomary, no important improvement in the manufacture of iron and steel occurred from the revival of the iron industry in Europe, about the beginning of the seventh century, until the perfection of the rolling mill in the eighteenth century.

The ancient and the early European processes for the manufacture of both iron and steel do not compare unfavorably with those of modern times in the quality of the products they yielded. Modern processes excel those which they have replaced more in the uniformity and quantity of their products than in their quality. The Germans once had a furnace for making small quantities of iron by laborious manual labor, the name of which, *bauernofen*, indicates that it was used by farmers when they were not engaged in cultivating or securing their crops. In the present age mechanical skill of the highest order unites with the subtle operations of the chemist to produce iron and steel in such quantities and with such uniformity of product as to amaze not only the modern farmer but also the student of history, the political economist, the practical statesman, and the man of all wisdom.

FIRST ATTEMPT BY EUROPEANS TO MANUFACTURE IRON IN THE UNITED STATES.

Having traced in preceding pages, as briefly as the importance of the subject would permit, the early history of the iron manufacture in the older countries of the world, especially in Great Britain, our mother country in this great industry as well as in national life, and in language, laws, literature, and religion, we now cross the Atlantic to the shores of the New World, and to that part of it which comprises the United States. In no other part of the American continent has the manufacture of iron ever risen to the dignity of a national industry; and only in Canada, of all the political divisions of North or South America outside of the United States, has a serious effort ever been made to develop native iron resources. This is a remarkable fact, the explanation of which is found mainly in a study of national characteristics, the gift of iron ore and of fuel to smelt it having been denied to very few of our territorial neighbors.

It would not be profitable to inquire minutely whether the mound-builders or other aboriginal inhabitants of the United States, or the aboriginal inhabitants of any other part of the American continent, possessed a knowledge of the use and consequently of the manufacture of iron. It may be assumed that it has not been proved that they possessed this knowledge. Antiquarians have not neglected a subject of such importance, but thus far their researches have been fruitless of decisive results. Rude hatchets and other small implements of iron have been found in situations which give color to the theory that they may have been of aboriginal origin, but the weight of much concurrent testimony is strongly against this supposition. Prescott expressly says that the inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, who were, at the time of the conquest, the most advanced in all the arts of civilization of the immediate predecessors of the white race in North and South America, were unacquainted with

the use of iron, copper serving them as a substitute. Our North American Indians were certainly unacquainted with the use of iron when the English, the Dutch, and other Europeans first landed on the Atlantic coast.

In the absence of conclusive information concerning the use of iron by any of the aboriginal inhabitants of America, the interesting fact may be parenthetically stated that iron is now made in Cherokee county, in the western part of North Carolina, by some members of the remnant of a band of Cherokee Indians. They use the primitive Catalan forge, which was introduced into North Carolina by the early white settlers.

North Carolina first gave to Europeans the knowledge that iron ore existed within the limits of the United States. The discovery was made in 1585 by the expedition fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, and commanded by Ralph Lane, which made in that year, on Roanoke Island, the first attempt to plant an English settlement on the Atlantic coast. Bishop, in his *History of American Manufactures*, says that "Lane and his men explored the country along the Roanoke and on both sides from Elizabeth river to the Neuse." Thomas Hariot, the historian of the colony, and servant to Sir Walter Raleigh, says that, "in two places of the countrey specially, one about foure-score and the other sixe-score miles from the fort or place where wee dwelt, wee founde neere the water side the ground to be rockie, which, by the triall of a minerall man, was founde to hold iron richly. It is founde in manie places of the countrey else. I know nothing to the contrarie but that it maie bee allowed for a good marchantable commoditie, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men; the infinite store of wood; the want of wood and deerenesse thereof in England; and the necessity of ballasting of shippes." But no attempt was made to utilize this discovery, as the colonists were in search of gold and not iron. In 1586 they quarreled with the Indians and returned to England. A permanent settlement in North Carolina was not effected until many years afterward. Iron ore was not mined in North Carolina nor was iron made within its boundaries until after many of the other colonies had commenced to make iron.

In 1607 the first permanent English colony in the New World was founded at Jamestown, in Virginia, by the Virginia Company of London, and on the 10th of April in the following year, 1608, the company's ship, commanded by Captain Christopher Newport, sailed from Jamestown, loaded with iron ore, sassafras, cedar posts, and walnut boards, and on the 20th of May it arrived in England. From Neill's history of the company we learn that the iron ore was smelted, and "seventeen tons of metal were sold at £4 per ton to the East India Company." This was undoubtedly the first iron made by Europeans from American ore. In 1610 Sir Thomas Gates, who had spent some time in Virginia, testified before the council of the company, at London, that there were divers minerals, especially "iron oare," in Virginia, lying upon the surface of the ground, some of which ore, having been sent home, had been found to yield as good iron as any in Europe. The iron here referred to was that which had been sold to the East India Company.

In 1619 the Virginia Company sent to Virginia a number of persons who were skilled in the manufacture of iron, to "set up three iron works" in the colony. The enterprise was undertaken in that year, and was located on Falling creek, a tributary of the James river, which it enters on its right or southern bank in Chesterfield county, about seven miles below Richmond, and about sixty-six miles above Jamestown. In 1620, as stated by Beverley in his *History of Virginia*, "an iron work at Falling creek, in James river," was set up, "where they made proof of good iron oar, and brought the whole work so near a perfection that they writ word to the company in London that they did not doubt but to finish the work and have plentiful provision of iron for them by the next Easter"—in the spring of 1621. But neither "plentiful provision" nor any other provision of iron was made on Falling creek in 1621, owing to the death of three of the master workmen who had the enterprise in charge. In July of that year the company sent over Mr. John Berkley, "formerly of Beverstone Castle, Gloucester, a gentleman of an honorable family," to take charge of the work. He was accompanied by his son Maurice and twenty experienced workmen. In a letter from the company to the colonial authorities, dated July 25, 1621, it was stated that "the advancement of the iron works we esteeme to be most necessarie, by perfecting whereof we esteeme the plantation is gainer. We therefore require all possible assistance be given to Mr. Berkley now sent, and all furtherance to his ship, especially good entertainment at their landinge." On the 12th of August of the same year the company, in a communication to the authorities, wrote respecting the iron works and the saw-mills which had been projected: "We pray your assistance in the perfectinge of these two workes; the profitt will redound to the whole collony, and therefore it is necessary that you extend your authoritie to the utmost lymitts to enforce such as shall refuse the help to a business so much tending to the generall good." On the 5th of December, 1621, the company again wrote, enjoining "all possible dilligence and industrious care to further and accomplish those great and many designes of salte, sawinge mills, and iron." In January, 1622, the authorities wrote to the company that "the care we have taken of the iron workes we reserve to be reported by Mr. Thresurer and Mr. Barkley himself." On June 10th the company wrote of "the good enterance w^{ch} we have understood you have made in the iron works, and other staple comodities," and added, "let us have at least by the next returnes some good quantitie of iron and wyne." But before this letter was written the colony had been visited by the Indian massacre of the 22d of March, 1622, in which John Berkley and all his workmen were slain and the iron works were destroyed. The works were not rebuilt. Beverley, writing in 1705, says the project of iron works on Falling creek "has never been set on foot since, till of late; but it has not had its full trial." In 1624 the charter of the Virginia Company was revoked. And thus ended disastrously the first attempt by Europeans to make iron in America.

The "good enterance" mentioned in the company's letter of June 10th doubtless referred to satisfactory progress in the construction of the works, but there is no positive evidence that iron was ever made on Falling creek. Letters from Mr. John Berkley had promised that "the company might relye upon good quantities of iron made by him" by Whitsuntide of 1622, but the massacre occurred before that time. Beverley, however, in referring to the Falling creek enterprise, says that "the iron proved reasonably good; but before they got into the body of the mine the people were cut off in that fatal massacre." The ore on Falling creek is described as having been brown in color. Mr. Berkley declared that "a more fit place for iron workes than in Virginia, both for woods, water, mynes, and stone," was not to be found; and Mr. George Sandys wrote to the company on the 3d of March, 1622, that Falling creek was fitted for ironmaking "as if Nature had applyed herselfe to the wish and dictation of the workeman; where also were great stones, hardly seene elsewhere in Virginia, lying on the place, as though they had beene brought thither to advance the erection of those workes."

We have failed to discover whether the works on Falling creek embraced a blast furnace and refinery or a bloomary only, but the frequent references to building stone in connection with the works, and the length of time and the number of workmen occupied in their erection, lead to the inference that a furnace formed a part of the enterprise.

No further attempt to make iron in Virginia appears to have been made for many years after the failure on Falling creek. In a pamphlet entitled *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, published at London in 1649, it is stated that "an iron work erected would be as much as a silver mine." In 1650 another pamphlet, quoted by Bishop, says of iron ore in Virginia: "Neither does Virginia yield to any other province whatsoever in excellency and plenty of this oare." In 1687, and again in 1696, Col. William Byrd, the first of the name in Virginia, set on foot the project of reviving the works on Falling creek, but it was not carried into execution. This is the project referred to by Beverley in 1705 as not having had "its full trial."

To encourage manufactures in Virginia the exportation of hides, wool, and iron from the colony was forbidden by an act of the assembly in 1662, on penalty of one thousand pounds of tobacco for every hide exported, fifty pounds of tobacco for every pound of wool exported, and ten pounds of tobacco for every pound of iron exported. The restriction was removed in 1671, "no successe answering the conceived hopes and apparent losses accrueing to all inhabitants by the refusall of those concerned to buy the comodityes aforesaid," but it was re-enacted in 1682. We cannot learn that during all the time covered by these enactments, and down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was a single pound of iron manufactured in Virginia. Notwithstanding the wise encouragement given by the Virginia Company and by some succeeding colonial authorities to the establishment of manufactures, the Virginia settlers for a hundred years after the settlement at Jamestown devoted themselves almost entirely to the raising of tobacco and other agricultural products.

R. A. Brock, Esq., of Richmond, a gentleman who has devoted much time to historical researches concerning Virginia, and who is at present corresponding secretary and librarian of the Virginia Historical Society, has recently published an account of some of the iron enterprises in the colony in the eighteenth century, from which the following interesting reference to the site of the iron works on Falling creek is taken:

> The Falling creek tract fell to the possession of Col. Archibald Cary some time prior to the Revolutionary war. Upon it he erected his well-known seat, the name of which became in the records of the period a part and parcel of his personal designation as Archibald Cary of Ampthill. He erected new iron works on Falling creek. "He purchased pigs of iron from Rappahannock, Patowmack, and Maryland. Of these he made bar iron. The profits, however, were so small that he abandoned his forge and converted his pond to the use of a grist mill about 1760. Nobody then knew of any iron mine convenient to Falling creek."
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> Falling creek is about a mile below Ampthill. Its waters still furnish motive power to a grist mill owned by Mr. H. Carrington Watkins, and known as the Ampthill mill. The creek is but an insignificant rivulet above the mill, but some twenty yards below it widens into a handsome little lake, and some quarter of a mile thence empties into James river.
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> About sixty yards from the mill, on the western bank of the creek and nearing the river, the writer picked up several small pieces of furnace cinder, presumptive relics of the iron works of 1622. The bluff adjacent and incumbent has, it is evident, from repeated washings of the soil, nearly covered the exact original site.
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> On the opposite side of the creek, and to the east of the mill, is clearly indicated the site of the forge of Archibald Cary. Here we found numerous pieces of slag or cinder, some of them fully a hundred pounds in weight, and an irregular area, an acre or more in extent, covered with finely-broken or comminuted charcoal to the depth of fully two feet; a memorial of the fuel used.
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> We were informed that about half a mile below Falling creek, near James river, there is a low piece of ground known to this day as Iron Bottom, where may be found plentifully what is known as bog iron on the surface. It will be recollected that the iron ore already cited as being mentioned by Sir Thomas Gates was described as "lying on the surface of the ground." We have also learned since our visit to Falling creek that at a point upon its banks, distant inward about two miles from the site of the iron works, there are numerous pits some five or six feet in depth, which it is evident, from the mineral character of their surroundings, furnished the crude ore for the original and ill-starred works.

In the eighteenth century Virginia became very prominent in the manufacture of iron, fulfilling in an eminent degree, although at a late day, the expectations which had been entertained of its iron-producing capabilities by the enterprising but ill-fated Virginia Company of London.

BEGINNING OF THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

Although iron ore in this country was first discovered in North Carolina, and the manufacture of iron was first undertaken in Virginia, the first successful iron works were established in the province of Massachusetts Bay. In 1632 mention is made by Morton of the existence of "iron stone" in New England, and in November, 1637, the general court of Massachusetts granted to Abraham Shaw one-half of the benefit of any "coles or yron stone w^{ch} shal be found in any comon ground w^{ch} is in the countryes disposeing." Iron ore had also been found in small lakes or ponds on the western bank of the Saugus river, near Lynn, soon after its settlement in 1629, and in 1642 specimens of it were taken to London by Robert Bridges, in the hope that a company might be formed for the manufacture of iron. This hope was realized in the formation of "The Company of Undertakers for the Iron Works," consisting of eleven English gentlemen, who advanced £1,000 to establish the works. John Winthrop, Jr., had previously gone to England, and he appears to have assisted Mr. Bridges to secure the organization of the company. He became a member of the company, as did others among the colonists. Thomas Dexter and Robert Bridges, both of Lynn, were among the original promoters of the enterprise. Alonzo Lewis, in his *History of Lynn*, published in 1844, says that in 1643 "Mr. John Winthrop, Jr., came from England with workmen and stock to the amount of one thousand pounds, for commencing the work. A foundry was erected on the western bank of Saugus river. . . The village at the foundry was called Hammersmith by some of the principal workmen who came from a place of that name in England." In Newhall's revision of Lewis's history, published in 1865, the iron works are said to have been located near the site of the present woolen factories in Saugus Centre, a suburb of Lynn, where large heaps of scoria are still to be seen. "This iron foundry at Lynn," says Lewis, "was the first which was established in America." Lynn is about ten miles northeast of Boston.

In 1644, and subsequently, as stated by Lewis, the general court granted many special privileges to the company. On March 7, 1644, it was granted three miles square of land at each of six places it might occupy in the prosecution of its business. On November 13, 1644, it was allowed three years "for y^{e} perfecting of their worke and furnishing of y^{e} country with all sorts of barr iron." The citizens were granted liberty to take stock in the enterprise "if they would complete the finery and forge, as well as the furnace, which is already set up." On the 14th of May, 1645, the general court passed an order declaring that "y^{e} iron worke is very successfull (both in y^{e} richnes of y^{e} ore and y^{e} goodnes of y^{e} iron)," and that between £1,200 and £1,500 had already been disbursed, "with which y^{e} furnace is built, with that which belongeth to it, . . and some tuns of sowe iron cast . . in readines for y^{e} forge. . . There will be neede of some £1,500 to finish y^{e} forge." On the 14th of October of the same year the company was granted still further privileges by the general court, on the condition "that the inhabitants of this jurisdiction be furnished with barr iron of all sorts for their use, not exceeding twentye pounds per tunn," and that the grants of land already made should be used "for the building and seting up of six forges, or furnaces, and not bloomaries onely." The grant was confirmed to the company of the free use of all materials "for making or moulding any manner of gunnes, potts, and all other cast-iron ware." On the 6th of May, 1646, Mr. Richard Leader, the general agent of the company, who is described as a man of superior ability, purchased "some of the country's gunnes to melt over at the foundery." On August 4, 1648, Governor Winthrop wrote from Boston to his son, who had removed to Pequod, Connecticut, that "the iron work goeth on with more hope. It yields now about 7 tons per week." On September 30th he writes again: "The furnace runs 8 tons per week, and their bar iron is as good as Spanish." Newhall quotes from a Lynn account book for 1651 the following entry: "James Leonnarde, 15 days worke about finnerey chimneye and other worke in y^{e} forge, 1: 13: 0. To ditto Leonard for dressing his bellows 3 times, 1: 10: 0." Edward Johnson, of Woburn, in describing Lynn in 1651, in his *Wonder Working Providence*, printed in that year, says: "There is also an iron mill in constant use;" and Mr. Lewis states that, prior to 1671, "the iron works for several years were carried on with vigor, and furnished most of the iron used in the colony." After 1671 they passed under a cloud, and about 1688 they appear to have finally ceased operations. Their owners were harassed after 1651 with frequent lawsuits, arising from the overflow of the water in the dam. The fear that the works would create a scarcity of timber also appears to have added to their unpopularity. Hubbard, writing about 1677, says that "a work was set up at Lynn upon a very commodious stream, which was very much promoted and strenuously carried on for some time, but at length, instead of drawing out bars of iron for the country's use, there was hammered out nothing but contentions and lawsuits."

From the foregoing details it is plainly established that the enterprise at Lynn embraced a blast furnace or "foundery" and a refinery forge. The term "foundery" was long a synonym for "furnace," castings being made directly from the furnace, as has been previously stated. This practice continued in this country down to almost the middle of the present century, and is still followed in many European countries. That the furnace was in operation in May, 1645, is certain, and that the forge was in operation in September, 1648, is equally certain. These dates may be accepted as definitely determining, respectively, the first successful attempts in this country to make "sowe iron" and other castings in a blast furnace and to make "barr iron" in a refinery forge from "sowe iron."

Joseph Jenks was a machinist at the Lynn iron works, who had come from Hammersmith in England, and was a man of much skill and inventive genius. He prepared the molds for the first castings that were made at Lynn.

"A small iron pot, capable of containing about one quart," was the first article cast at the furnace. In 1844 it was in the possession of Mr. Lewis's mother, who was a lineal descendant of Thomas Hudson, the first owner of the lands on Saugus river on which the iron works were built, and who obtained possession of the pot immediately after it was cast, "which he preserved as a curiosity." "It has been handed down in the family ever since," wrote Mr. Lewis in 1844.

Joseph Jenks, who became the founder of an eminent New England family, purchased from Richard Leader on the 20th of January, 1647, the privilege of building a forge at the Lynn iron works for the manufacture of scythes and other edge tools. This enterprise was successful. In 1652 he made at the Lynn iron works, for the mint which was that year established at Boston, the dies for the first silver pieces coined in New England. On one side of these coins was the impression of a pine tree. In 1654 he made for the city of Boston the first fire engine made in America. In 1655 the general court granted him a patent for an improved scythe. He died in 1683.

Henry and James Leonard were also skilled workmen at the Lynn iron works. They and their descendants were afterwards connected with other colonial iron enterprises. They had a brother Philip, who does not appear to have lived at Lynn. Rev. Dr. Fobes, in referring to the Leonard family in his *Topographical Description of the Town of Raynham*, written in 1793, says that "the circumstance of a family attachment to the iron manufacture is so well known as to render it a common observation in this part of the country, 'Where you can find iron works there you will find a Leonard.'" Henry and James Leonard are said to have learned their trade at Pontypool in Monmouthshire.

The second iron enterprise that was undertaken in New England embraced a furnace and forge at Braintree, about ten miles south of Boston. The works at Lynn and Braintree belonged to the same company. Bishop says that, on the 19th of November, 1643, a grant of 3,000 acres of the common land at Braintree was made to Mr. Winthrop and his partners, the Lynn company, "for the encouragement of an iron work to be set up about Monotcot river." But this grant, according to Lewis, was not surveyed until January 11, 1648. On the 29th of September, 1645, as stated by Lewis, the first purchase of land, consisting of twenty acres, "for a forge at Braintree," was made from George Ruggles by Richard Leader, who was the general agent for the company of undertakers. The furnace was probably built in 1646. Robert Child, writing from Boston on the 15th of March, 1647, to John Winthrop, Jr., "at Pequot river," says of the Lynn and Braintree enterprises: "We have cast this winter some tuns of pots, likewise mortars, stoves, skillets. Our potter is moulding more at Brayntree as yet, which place after another blowing we shall quit, not finding mine there." We find, however, that iron ore was mined at Braintree in the early part of 1652, and that, on the 28th of September of that year, it was proposed at London, on behalf of the undertakers, to employ William Osborne at "Brantry furnas & fordges." Lewis states that in 1691 "iron ore, called 'rock mine,' was taken from the ledges at Nahant for the forge at Braintree." Henry Leonard is supposed to have superintended the erection of the Braintree works. John Gifford was the manager of the works, according to Newhall, and in 1651 he succeeded Richard Leader as agent for the works at Lynn.

The next iron enterprise in New England was located in the town, or township, of Taunton, now Raynham, two miles from the city of Taunton, in Bristol county. This enterprise was undertaken in 1652 by Henry and James Leonard and Ralph Russell. At a town meeting at Taunton, held October 21, 1652, "it was agreed and granted by the town to the said Henry Leonard and James Leonard, his brother, and Ralph Russell, free consent to come hither and join with certain of our inhabitants to set up a bloomery work on the Two-mile river." The Taunton works, sometimes called the Raynham works, are referred to by Lewis as "Leonards' celebrated iron works." They were well managed, and long continued in a prosperous condition. At these works bar iron was made directly from the ore. As Henry Leonard was at Lynn in 1655, and as James Leonard does not appear to have been there after 1652, it is probable that the latter and his sons became the sole owners of the Raynham works. Dr. Fobes gives an account of the intimacy which existed between the Leonards at Raynham and King Philip, through which they were protected against Indian outrages. Sanford, in his *History of Raynham*, says: "Philip had a summer hunting-seat near the Fowling pond. The Leonards had supplied him with beef, repaired his muskets, and furnished him with such simple tools as the Indians could use." Philip's head, says Dr. Fobes, was deposited in the cellar of James Leonard's house for a considerable time after his death in 1676. At the date of Dr. Fobes's book, 1793, this house was occupied by Leonards of the sixth generation. The forge, says this writer, was situated on "the great road, and, having been repaired from generation to generation, it is to this day still in employ." In William Read Deane's *Genealogical Record of the Leonard Family*, published in 1851, it is stated that "the old forge, though it has been several times remodeled, has been in constant use for nearly two hundred years, and is now in the full tide of successful operation. It is owned by Theodore Dean, Esq., who is descended from the Leonards." The forge was at that time employed in the manufacture of anchors. In 1865 it was still so employed, with six forge fires, two hammers, and four water-wheels, but about that time it ceased to be active and has not since been in operation. The works are now in a dilapidated condition. Theodore Dean was recently the owner. This forge is the oldest iron establishment in the country that is now in existence. Fowling pond, which was originally nearly two miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide, was close to the forge, and supplied it with ore. A blast furnace, for the manufacture of hollow-ware, was built on a branch of Two-mile river before the Revolution, and has long been abandoned.

In Ricketson's *History of New Bedford* it is stated that "one of the earliest settlers of Dartmouth was Ralph Russell, who came from Pontypool, England, and had been engaged in the iron business with Henry and James Leonard, of Taunton. He set up an iron forge at 'Russell's Mills,' which place received its name from him."

In 1657 the general court of Massachusetts, owing to the failure of the undertakers at Lynn and Braintree to furnish the colony with a constant supply of iron, "whereby unsufferable damage may accrew," granted to the inhabitants of Concord and Lancaster, and such as they should associate with them, "liberty to erect one or more iron workes within the limitts of theire oune toune bounds, or in any common place neere thereunto." That this grant resulted in the establishment of an iron work at Concord—since become famous through its association with the outbreak of hostilities between the mother country and the colonies in 1775—appears probable from the grant by the court in 1660, to "y^e^ company in partnership in the iron worke at Concord," of "free liberty to digg mine without molestation in any lands now in the court's possession."

About 1668 Henry Leonard went to Rowley Village, about 25 miles northeast of Lynn, as stated by Newhall, "and there established iron works." Lewis says that in 1674 Henry Leonard's sons, Nathaniel, Samuel, and Thomas, contracted to carry on these works for the owners, whose names are given by Bishop as "John Ruck and others of Salem." The works did not prove to be profitable. After establishing the Rowley works Henry Leonard went to New Jersey, "and there again engaged in the iron manufacture." At some time previous to his removal to New Jersey he appears to have been connected with the establishment of iron works at Canton, about 14 miles south of Boston.

Other iron enterprises in Massachusetts speedily followed in the same century those that have been mentioned. In 1677 one of these works, the name of which has not come down to us, was destroyed by the Indians. About the same year iron was made at Topsfield, near Ipswich, and in 1680 its manufacture was commenced at Boxford. Hubbard, writing about 1677, says that at that time there were in the colonies "many convenient places, where very good iron, not much inferior to that of Bilbao, may be produced, as at this day is seen in a village near Topsfield, seven or eight miles west from Ipswich." About 1696 George Leonard is said to have erected "an iron-working establishment" at Norton, about 27 miles southwest of Boston.

For a hundred years after its settlement in 1620 Massachusetts was the chief seat of the iron manufacture on this continent. Most of its iron enterprises during this hundred years were bloomaries, but there were blast furnaces also, although the latter as a rule produced only hollow-ware and other castings, and not pig iron. During the period mentioned the iron industry of Massachusetts was confined to the eastern counties of the colony, where bog and pond ores formed almost the only kinds of ore that were obtainable.

The English settlement at New Haven closely followed Massachusetts in the manufacture of iron. John Winthrop, Jr., who removed from Lynn to Pequod, (New London,) Connecticut, in 1645, had obtained from the general court in the preceding year permission to set up an iron work, and in 1651 he obtained a grant of certain privileges to enable him to "adventure" in the manufacture of iron; but he does not seem to have embarked in the iron business until subsequently. On the 30th of May, 1655, according to Bishop, it was ordered by the assembly of New Haven "that if an iron worke goe on within any part of this jurisdiction the persons and estates constantly and onely imployed in that worke shall be free from paying rates." In 1658 Captain Thomas Clarke, in connection with John Winthrop and others, put in operation an "iron worke" at New Haven, and in 1669 he seems to have been still engaged in the same enterprise, for in that year the general court of Connecticut continued the exemption already noted for another seven years, "for encouragement of the said worke in supplying the country with good iron and well wrought according to art." This enterprise embraced a blast furnace and refinery forge. On the 22d of June, 1663, John Davenporte wrote from New Haven to John Winthrop, Jr., as follows: "The freshest newes here, & that which is *e re vestra*, is, that they have bene blowing, at the iron worke, and have runne, from the last 6th day to this 2d day, 5 sowes of iron, which are commended for very good; & this night it's thought they will run another, & begin to-morrow to make pots. The worke is hopeful, but the workemen are thought to be very chargeable and froward." This frowardness was due apparently to the influence of an old enemy of iron works and ironworkers, John Barleycorn. Bishop records "a proposition made in May, 1662, 'in y^e^ behalfe of Capt. Clarke, that wine and liquors drawn at the iron workes might be custome free,' which was allowed to the extent of one butt of wine and one barrel of liquors, and no more."

Rhode Island made iron soon after its settlement in 1636—certainly at Pawtucket and elsewhere as early as 1675, when the forge at Pawtucket, erected by Joseph Jenks, Jr., son of Joseph Jenks, the machinist at Lynn, was destroyed by the Indians in the Wampanoag war, together with other iron works and infant enterprises. A third Joseph Jenks was governor of Rhode Island from 1727 to 1732. The few forges and furnaces which were erected in this colony in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries used bog or pond ore, and all or nearly all of them were located on the border of Bristol county, Massachusetts.

Iron does not appear to have been made within the limits of Maine, New Hampshire, or Vermont until the eighteenth century.

EXTENSION OF THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN NEW ENGLAND.

Doctor James Thacher, in his valuable essay on the iron ores and iron enterprises of Plymouth county, Massachusetts, printed in 1804, says: "The first furnace for smelting iron ore, known in the county of Plymouth, was erected in the year 1702 by Lambert Despard (a founder) and the family of Barkers, his associates, at the mouth of Mattakeeset pond in the town of Pembroke, but the wood in the vicinity being exhausted the works were long since abandoned." In James Torrey's *History of Scituate*, in Plymouth county, written in 1815, mention is made of an iron enterprise in the township of Scituate, as follows: "In 1648 Mr. Timothy Hatherly, the principal founder and father of the town of Scituate, requested liberty of the colony to erect an iron mill. It was granted in 1650, conditional to be erected within three years, or the privilege, certain woodlands about Mattakeeset pond, (now Pembroke,) to revert to the colony. It did not, however, take place at that period, but 'a smelting furnace was erected on the precise grant, by Mark Despard and the family of Barker, about 1702.'" With the building of this furnace the iron history of Massachusetts in the eighteenth century may be said to begin.

The enterprise of Despard and the Barkers was speedily followed by the erection of a bloomary forge on Bound brook, near Hingham, in 1703, by a company in which two brothers, Daniel and Mordecai Lincoln, were partners. Mordecai Lincoln is supposed to have been an ancestor of Abraham Lincoln. In Torrey's *History of Scituate* mention is made of the erection of the Drinkwater iron works, near Abington, about 1710, by a person named Mighill, probably Rev. Thomas Mighill. The first slitting mill in the colonies, for slitting nail rods, is said by tradition to have been erected at Milton, in Norfolk county, as early as 1710; but Bishop accords this honor to Middleborough, in Plymouth county, at a later day. About 1722 a bloomary forge was built at Bridgewater, which was active in 1750. In 1738 Hugh Orr, a Scotchman, established at this place a gun factory, and about 1748 he made five hundred muskets for the province of Massachusetts Bay, which are believed to have been the first muskets manufactured in the country. Subsequently he established a cast-iron cannon foundry at Bridgewater, and was instrumental in promoting various other manufacturing enterprises. In 1730 iron works were erected at Plympton, now Carver, which appear to have embraced a blast furnace, as mention is made of iron tea-kettles having been cast at Plympton between 1760 and 1765. In 1731 there were officially reported to be in Massachusetts "several forges for making bar iron, and some furnaces for cast iron or hollow-ware, and one slitting mill, and a manufacture for nails." At the same time there were in all New England "six furnaces, meaning hollow-ware furnaces, and nineteen forges, meaning bloomaries, not refineries." "At that time," says Douglass, in his *British Settlements*, "we had no pig furnaces nor refineries of pigs" in New England. Refineries were in use about twenty years later. In 1750 there were four slitting mills in Massachusetts—two at Middleborough, one at Hanover, and one at Milton; also a plating-forge with a tilt-hammer, and one steel furnace. About 1750 Douglass thus described the iron industry of New England:

> Iron is a considerable article in our manufactures; it consists of these general branches: (1) Smelting furnaces reducing the ore into pigs; having coal enough and appearances of rock ore. In Attleborough were erected at a great charge three furnaces, but the ore proving bad and scarce this projection miscarried as to pigs. They were of use in casting of small cannon for ships of letters of marque, and in casting cannon-balls and bombs toward the reduction of Louisbourg. (2) Refineries which manufacture pigs, imported from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland furnaces, into bar iron. (3) Bloomaries, which, from bog or swamp ore, without any furnace, only by a forge hearth, reduce it into a bloom or semi-liquidated lump to be beat into bars, but much inferior to those from the pigs or refineries. (4) Swamp ore furnaces; from that ore smelted they cast hollow-ware which we can afford cheaper than from England or Holland.
>
> Bog or swamp ore lies from half a foot to two feet deep. In about 20 years from digging it grows or gathers fit for another digging; if it lies longer it turns rusty and does not yield well. Three tons of swamp ore yield about one ton of hollow-ware.
>
> One hundred and twenty bushels of charcoal are sufficient to smelt rock ore into one ton of pigs. The complement of men for a furnace is eight or nine, besides cutters of wood, coalers, carters, and other common laborers.
>
> In New England we have two slitting mills for nail rods: one in Milton, eight miles from Boston, and another in Middleborough, about thirty miles from Boston, which are more than we have occasion for. Our nailors can afford spikes and large nails cheaper than from England, but small nails not so cheap.
>
> In New England they do not forge bar iron sufficient for their home consumption by bloomaries and refineries; they import from England, New York, Jersies, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

The development of the rich iron ores of the Berkshire hills, in western Massachusetts, commenced about 1750. A furnace was built at Lenox, in Berkshire county, in 1765, and it made pig iron in the following year. It had an exceptionally high stack for that day—28 feet high, and was blown with one tuyere. This furnace was torn down in 1881. Previous to 1773 a furnace was built at Furnace Village, in Worcester county, and a few years after that date there were several bloomaries and one refinery forge in the same county. In 1793 the county contained several manufactories of edge tools, hardware, machinery, etc. In the township of Sutton there were at this time one axe, one hoe, and five scythe manufactories, and several naileries. In the whole county there were seventeen trip-hammers. At Springfield, in Hampden county, as stated by Bishop, some cannon were cast and some forging was done during the Revolutionary war, but small arms were not made until after the peace. The Government armory at Springfield was established in 1794.

While the iron manufacture of Massachusetts was thus being extended westward it continued to make rapid

progress in the eastern counties. Charlotte furnace at Middleborough was built in 1758, and was in operation for many years. During our two wars with the mother country it was employed in casting shot and shells. The shot which the *Constitution* carried in her conflict with the *Guerrière* were cast at this furnace. In 1784 there were seventy-six iron works in Massachusetts, "many of them small." At Amesbury, in Essex county, a furnace was erected about 1790, and at Boxborough, in Middlesex county, a bloomary forge was built about the same time. In 1795 Dr. Morse reported eleven slitting mills in Bristol, Norfolk, and Plymouth counties, which rolled and cut in that year 1,732 tons of iron into hoops and nail rods. Bishop says that "the two counties of Plymouth and Bristol had in operation in 1798 fourteen blast and six air furnaces, twenty forges, and seven rolling and slitting mills, in addition to a number of trip-hammers and a great number of nail and smith shops. Cut and hammered nails, spades and shovels, card teeth, saws, scythes, metal buttons, cannon balls, bells, fire arms, sheet iron for tin ware, wire, etc., were made in large quantities." Steel was made from crude iron at Canton about 1797 "by the German process." In 1804 there were ten blast furnaces in Plymouth county, all producing castings exclusively. In 1830 only three of these were left—Charlotte, Federal, and Pope's Point, all in Carver township, and all in operation. There were also in 1804 ten forges in the same county, which were principally employed in working "old iron scraps," broken pots, kettles, etc., and produced in all about 200 tons of bar iron per annum.

Dr. James Thacher, who was a part owner of Federal furnace, wrote in 1804 a description of this furnace, which was built in 1794, and is said by him to have been the most valuable furnace with which he was acquainted, the manufacture of castings being "there prosecuted to great extent and advantage." The furnace was built of stone, as were all other Plymouth furnaces. It was 20 feet high and 24 feet square, its walls being 7 feet thick and its interior 10 feet in diameter. Charcoal was the only fuel used, and marine shells formed the only fluxing material. The furnace was lined with "fire stone" composed of "soft slate." A brick funnel at the top of the stack served "to convey off the blaze and smoke." The Doctor continues his description as follows:

> At the bottom of an arch in the front of the furnace is an aperture, from which the workmen remove the scoria and dip out the metal. And in another arch on one side there is a small aperture for the insertion of the pipes of two large bellows 22 feet long and 4 feet wide, which being kept in constant alternate motion by the agency of a water-wheel 25 feet diameter, a powerful current of air is excited; and being impelled upon the surface of the fuel the fusion of the metal is greatly accelerated. The whole of this machinery is included in a large wooden building, affording accommodation to the workmen with their apparatus for moulding and casting.
>
> The specific articles manufactured at the Federal furnace are, besides hollow-ware of every description, Seymour's patent rolls for slitting mills, of a superior quality, cast in iron cylinders, potash kettles, stoves, fire-backs and jambs, plates, gudgeons, anvils, large hammers, cannon shot of every kind, with a vast variety of machinery for mills, &c.

The ores used in the furnaces and bloomaries of eastern Massachusetts were chiefly bog and pond ores. Dr. Thacher says, however, that in 1804 "a very considerable proportion of ore smelted in our furnaces is procured from the very productive mines at Egg Harbor, in the state of New Jersey, of a reddish brown color, producing from 30 to 40 per cent. of excellent iron. The usual price is $6.50 per ton." He also says that "reddish brown" ore in large lumps was obtained from a mine on Martha's Vineyard, "affording about 25 per cent. and worth $6 per ton." The pond ores contained from 20 to 30 per cent. of iron, and the average price was about $6 per ton at the furnace. Bog ore, found in swamps and other low places, was of a "rusty brown color, yielding about 18 per cent. and worth $4 per ton at the furnace." The following letter from the Rev. Isaac Backus, of Middleborough, dated July 25, 1794, gives a description of the manner in which pond ores were obtained.

> Vast quantities of iron, both cast and wrought, have been made in this part of the country for more than a hundred years past; but it was chiefly out of bog ore, until that kind was much exhausted in these parts, and then a rich treasure was opened in Middleborough, which had been long hid from the inhabitants. About the year 1747 it was discovered that there was iron mine in the bottom of our great pond at Assowamset; and after some years it became the main ore that was used in the town, both at furnaces and forges, and much of it has been carried into the neighboring places for the same purpose. Men go out with boats, and make use of instruments much like those with which oysters are taken, to get up the ore from the bottom of the pond. I am told that, for a number of years, a man would take up and bring to shore two tons of it in a day; but now it is so much exhausted that half a ton is reckoned a good day's work for one man. But in an adjacent pond is now plenty, where the water is twenty feet deep, and much is taken up from that depth, as well as from shoaler water. It has also been plenty in a pond in the town of Carver, where they have a furnace upon the stream which runs from it. Much of the iron which is made from this ore is better than they could make out of bog ore, and some of it is as good as almost any refined iron. The quantity of this treasure, which hath been taken out of the bottom of clear ponds, is said to have been sometimes as much as five hundred tons in a year.

In 1735 Samuel Waldo erected a furnace and foundry on the Pawtuxet river, in Rhode Island, which were afterwards known as Hope furnace. They are said to have been the most important iron works in the state during the eighteenth century. Cannon and other castings were made here. During the Revolution they were active in producing cannon, cannon balls, and other munitions of war. About the year 1735 three other furnaces were erected in Cumberland township, in the northeastern part of the state, but they seem to have been abandoned before the Revolution. They made "cannon, bombs, and bullets" during the French war of 1755. Before 1800 a slitting mill had been erected on one of the branches of Providence river; a slitting and rolling mill at Pawtucket falls; and other iron-manufacturing establishments in various parts of the state. Bishop says that "manufactures of iron, including bar and sheet iron, steel, nail rods and nails, farming implements, stoves, pots, and other castings and household utensils, iron works for shipbuilders, anchors, and bells formed the largest branch of productive industry in the state toward the close of the eighteenth century."

Litchfield county, in northwestern Connecticut, contains iron-ore mines of great value, from which the ore for the celebrated "Salisbury iron" has been taken for a hundred and fifty years. This ore is of a similar quality to that found in Berkshire county, Massachusetts, already referred to. As early as 1734 a bloomary forge was erected at Lime Rock, in Litchfield county, by Thomas Lamb, which produced from 500 to 700 pounds of iron per day. About 1748 a forge was erected at the village of Lakeville, in the same county, and in 1762 John Haseltine, Samuel Forbes, and Colonel Ethan Allen purchased the property and built a blast furnace, but soon afterwards sold it to Charles and George Caldwell, of Hartford. It made two and a half tons of iron in twenty-four hours, and three tons of ore and 250 bushels of charcoal were used per ton of iron. Its blowing apparatus consisted of a pair of leather bellows driven by a water-wheel. In 1768 the furnace was sold to Richard Smith, of Hartford. Smith was a royalist, and fled to England during the Revolution, but his furnace was made to produce large quantities of cannon, cannon balls, shells, etc., for the Continental army. After the Revolution it made cannon for the navy, potash kettles weighing nearly half a ton each, and pig iron for forges and foundries. Many bloomary forges were erected in this county about the close of the last century. One of these was built on Mount Riga, about five miles north of Lakeville, in 1781, by Abner or Peter Woodin. It was afterwards owned by Daniel Ball, and was called Ball's forge. About 1806 Seth King and John Kelsey commenced to build a furnace on Mount Riga, but were not able to finish it, and in 1810 it fell into the hands of Holley & Coffing, who completed it in that year and operated it for many years. Twenty-seven furnaces have been built and operated within a radius of thirty miles of Lakeville, a few of which were in New York and Massachusetts, but the majority were in Connecticut. At the close of the eighteenth century Litchfield county contained fifty bloomary forges, making iron directly from the ore, and three slitting mills. At the same time the county was so prominent in the manufacture of nails that only Plymouth and Bristol counties in Massachusetts, of all the nail-making districts in the country, exceeded its production. The iron of Litchfield county is now entirely used for foundry purposes, and most of it in the manufacture of car wheels.

Bishop says that Oldmixon mentions "a small iron mill" at Branford, in New Haven county, in 1741, on a small stream, running into Long Island sound, and adds that on many of the small streams and branches of the rivers which fall into the sound "bloomaries and small works for a variety of manufactures in iron were established, some of them quite early." The bloomaries were in part supplied with bog ore, "dug near them," and in part with better ores obtained elsewhere. Bishop also says that in 1794 a slitting mill and other iron works had been erected in East Hartford, a forge at Glastonbury, and two furnaces at Stafford "which made sufficient hollow and cast-iron wares for the whole state." Lesley says that there were at one time, about the beginning of the present century, three blast furnaces in northern Connecticut, near the Massachusetts line, on a branch of the Willimantic river, a mile or two apart. Three forges near them converted their pig iron into bar iron. Hebron furnace was south of the above-mentioned furnaces, and Enfield forge stood a few miles east of Windsor Locks. All these furnaces and forges were stopped about 1837, when Scotch pig iron began to come into the country.

Connecticut was among the first of the colonies to make steel. Bishop relates that in 1728 Joseph Higby, "an ingenious blacksmith," of Simsbury, Hartford county, represented to the legislature that he had, "with great pains and cost, found out and obtained a curious art, by which to convert, change, or transmit common iron into good steel, sufficient for any use, and was the very first that ever performed such an operation in America." The certificates of several smiths, who had made a trial of the steel and pronounced it good, were produced. He and Joseph Dewey were granted the exclusive right for ten years "of practicing the business or trade of steel-making." A "steel furnace" was owned by George Eliot, of Killingworth, in Middlesex county, previous to 1750, and in 1761 the Rev. Jared Eliot, of the same place, father of the above-mentioned George Eliot, succeeded in producing in a common bloomary forge a bar of excellent iron, weighing 50 pounds, from 83 pounds of black magnetic sand, and in his son's steel furnace a portion of the bar was converted into good steel. For this discovery he was awarded a gold medal in 1764 by the London Society of Arts. But this sand, which is found in the southern parts of Connecticut, as well as in other states, never received much further attention for conversion into iron or steel.

Iron ore was discovered near Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, as early as 1634, some of which was shipped to England, but there is no evidence that its discovery led to the establishment of any iron works in that century. The manufacture of iron in this state dates from about 1750, when several bloomaries, using bog ore, were in existence on Lamper Eel river, but were soon discontinued. About the period of the Revolution there were a few bloomaries in operation in the state. In 1791 mention is made of iron works at Exeter. At Furnace Village the magnetic ore of Winchester was first smelted in 1795 by a Rhode Island company. Franconia furnace, in Franconia county, was built in 1811 by a company which was organized in 1805.

Maine had a few bloomary forges in York county during the Revolution and for some years afterwards, but she has had but few blast furnaces. A small furnace, capable of yielding a ton and a half of iron daily, was erected at Shapleigh, in York county, about 1838. It was used to produce castings, and cost but $13,000. A larger furnace in Piscataquis county, called Katahdin, was built in 1845, and is now active. This is the only furnace now in the state. At an early period in its history it was successfully operated for several years by Hon. John L. Hayes, now of Cambridge, Massachusetts. A forge was erected near the furnace soon after 1845. In 1853 it made 700 tons of blooms. There were in 1880 two rolling mills in Maine—one at Portland and one at Pembroke.

The manufacture of iron was commenced in Vermont about 1750. Large deposits of iron ores similar to those of western Massachusetts and western Connecticut had previously been found in the southern and western parts of the state. In Rutland county a mine was opened in 1785, and in 1794 there were fourteen forges, three furnaces, and a slitting mill in the county. In other counties there were seven forges in 1794—one in Bennington, four in Addison, and two in Chittenden counties, and before 1800 other forges and a slitting mill were added; possibly some furnaces. The township of Randolph, in Orange county, had two forges and a slitting mill at the same period. About the beginning of the nineteenth century there were twenty bloomaries in the neighborhood of Vergennes, in Addison county, all built with Boston capital.

The manufacture of nails was one of the household industries of New England during the eighteenth century. In a speech in Congress in 1789 Fisher Ames said: "It has become common for the country people in Massachusetts to erect small forges in their chimney corners; and in winter, and in evenings, when little other work can be done, great quantities of nails are made even by children. These people take the rod iron of the merchant and return him the nails, and in consequence of this easy mode of barter the manufacture is prodigiously great." In a description of the town of Middleborough, in Plymouth county, Massachusetts, written in 1793 by Nehemiah Bennet, it is mentioned that "the most common and general employment of the inhabitants of said town is agriculture, which seems to be increasing; though there are a number of mechanicks. Nailing, or the business of making nails, is carried on largely in the winters, by the farmers and young men, who have but little other business at that season of the year." When Jacob Perkins, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, invented his machine for making cut nails, which was patented in 1795 and speedily followed by other inventions for the same purpose, the occupation of making wrought nails in the chimney corner virtually came to an end. The manufacture of tacks by hand was also a New England household industry during the last century, and down to about fifty years ago. A writer in the *Furniture Trade Journal* thus describes this industry: "In the queer-shaped, homely farm-houses, or the little contracted shops of certain New England villages, the industrious and frugal descendants of the Pilgrims toiled providently through the long winter months at beating into shape the little nails which play so useful a part in modern industry. A small anvil served to beat the wire or strip of iron into shape and point it; a vice, worked by the foot, clutched it between jaws furnished with a gauge to regulate the length, leaving a certain portion projecting, which, when beaten flat by a hammer, formed the head. By this process a man might make, toilsomely, perhaps 2,000 tacks per day."

Nearly all the bloomary and refinery forges and blast furnaces of New England have long disappeared, and in their stead have grown up reproductive iron industries of almost endless variety and vast extent, employing large numbers of skilled mechanics and adding greatly to the productive wealth of the country. The rolling mills, machine shops, hardware establishments, nail and tack factories, foundries, and other iron enterprises of New England, together with a few steel works and modern blast furnaces, form to-day a striking contrast to the ore bloomaries, not much larger than a blacksmith's fire, and the small charcoal furnaces and chimney-corner nail factories of the last century. "All that," says Lesley, "has given way and disappeared before the inventive spirit of New England, sustained and incited by the wealth of its commercial cities."

EARLY IRON ENTERPRISES IN NEW YORK.

During the rule of the Dutch in New York, from their first settlement on Manhattan Island in 1614 to their surrender to the English in 1664, iron ore was sought for and found in various places, but no effort to manufacture iron is known to have been undertaken. Nor do the English appear to have established any iron works in the province until some time after the beginning of the succeeding century. A Parliamentary report, quoted by Pitkin, states that there were no iron manufactures in New York as late as 1731. Bishop quotes Governor Cosby as stating in 1734 that "as yet no iron work is set up in this province."

The first iron works in New York of which we have authentic information were "set up," according to Bishop, a short time prior to 1740 on Ancram creek, in Columbia county, and about fourteen miles east of the Hudson river, by Philip Livingston, the owner of the Livingston manor. The works when completed embraced a blast furnace and refinery forge. The supply of ore was obtained mainly from the "ore hill" in Salisbury township, Litchfield county, Connecticut, which had been developed a few years previously, and of which Mr. Livingston was a principal owner. The mines were about twelve miles distant from the Ancram works. Other sources of ore supply were found in the eastern part of the manor, near the Massachusetts and Connecticut lines. Notwithstanding the inconvenient location of the works, at a considerable distance from the mines and also from the nearest point of shipment on the Hudson river for the manufactured iron, they were prosperous until after the Revolution. In 1756 they are said to have been the only iron works in the province that were then in operation, although others had been undertaken. Of these silent or unfortunate enterprises Bishop mentions two furnaces in the manor of Cortland, and "several bloomaries which had not been worked for several years." At Marysburg, in the Livingston manor, were some forges which were worked about the time of the Revolution. Philip Livingston was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He died in 1778, at York, Pennsylvania, while serving as a delegate to Congress, and is buried there.

Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveler, writing in 1748, says of the commerce of New York: "Of late years they have shipped a quantity of iron to England." Some of this iron was doubtless made in Connecticut and New Jersey. Douglass, in his *British Settlements*, written in 1750, speaking of New York, says: "The article of iron in pigs and bars is a growing affair."

Bishop says that iron works were established in Orange county prior to 1750, but by whom he does not state. In 1750 Governor Clinton reported that, at a place called Wawayanda, in Orange county, about twenty-six miles from the Hudson, there was a plating-forge with a tilt-hammer, which had been built four or five years before, but was not then in use. It was the property of Lawrence Scrawley, a blacksmith. "It was the only mill of that kind in the province. There was no rolling or slitting mill or steel furnace at that time in the province."

In 1750 a vein of magnetic iron ore was discovered on Sterling mountain, in Orange county, and in 1751 Ward & Colton built a furnace at the outlet of Sterling pond. In Eager's *History of Orange County* it is stated that "at the early establishment of this furnace the charcoal used was transported several miles on the backs of horses from the mountains where it was burned, there being no roads at the time." Bishop says that in 1752 "Abel Noble, from Bucks county, Pennsylvania, erected a forge in Monroe, near the furnace, at which anchors are said to have been made." Eager says that the first anchor made in New York was made at this forge in 1753. In 1765 William Hawkhurst published an advertisement stating that he had lately erected "a finery and great hammer for refining the Sterling pig iron into bars," but the location of this enterprise is not mentioned. The furnace of Ward & Colton and the forge of Abel Noble became the property of Peter Townsend before the Revolution. They had been named the Sterling iron works, presumably after Lord Stirling, the owner of the land, who became a general in the Continental army, and who was engaged in the manufacture of iron in New Jersey before the Revolution. He may have been a part owner of the Orange county enterprises. (The Sterling works have always been spelled as here given, but Lord Stirling's name was differently spelled.) In 1773 Mr. Townsend made anchors at Sterling. We are informed by Mr. A. W. Humphreys that the anchors of the United States frigate *Constitution* were made here, as well as the anchors for the first ships of war that carried the stars and stripes. In 1777 "the Townsends" had two forges with eight forge fires. In 1776 Mr. Townsend, according to Bishop, "produced the first steel in the province, at first from pig and afterwards from bar iron, in the German manner." Bishop also says that "the first blister steel made in the state was made by Peter Townsend, Jr., in 1810, from ore of the Long mine on the Sterling estate." This mine was discovered in 1761 by David Jones. Other valuable mines than those mentioned were discovered and opened on the Sterling estate in the last century. In 1777 a second Sterling furnace was erected by the Townsends, and in 1806 Southfield furnace was built, about six miles distant from the Sterling mines, and it is still standing. The two early Sterling furnaces have been replaced by one modern stack.

Other mines of rich ore were discovered in Orange county during the last century, and many furnaces and forges were built in connection with them which have long been abandoned. In 1756 there was a Forest of Dean furnace five miles west of Fort Montgomery, which was supplied with ore from the Forest of Dean mine, near which it stood. The furnace was abandoned twenty-one years later. Eager says that "Captain Solomon Townsend, a cousin of Peter Townsend, and who married his daughter Anne in 1783, purchased the mountain estate adjoining that of his father-in-law, which he named Augusta, and established the iron works, anchory, forges, etc., at the place." These works were on the Ramapo, three miles above the Orange county line, in Orange county. There was a forge and anchory on Murderer's creek during the Revolution, owned by Samuel Brewster; after the war they passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Jonas Williams. Queensborough furnace, which went out of blast about 1800, and which was built to make pig iron, was located about two and a half miles southwest of Fort Montgomery. On the stream issuing from Hazzard's pond there was a furnace named Woodbury about the beginning of this century.

During the last century Orange county was the chief seat of the iron manufacture in New York. Greenwood furnace, in this county, was erected in 1811 by the Messrs. Cunningham. In 1871 it was the only charcoal furnace in southern New York that remained in blast; since that year it also has been silent.

The following account of the great iron chain which was suspended across the Hudson river in 1778 to prevent the passage of the British vessels is compiled from Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution.*

At the close of 1779 West Point was the strongest military post in America. In addition to the batteries that stood menacingly upon the hill tops, the river was obstructed by an enormous iron chain. The iron of which this chain was constructed was wrought from ore of equal parts from the Sterling and Long mines, in Orange county. The chain was manufactured by Peter Townsend, of Chester, at the Sterling iron works, in the same county, which were situated about twenty-five miles back of West Point. The general superintendent of the work, as engineer, was Captain Thomas Machin, who afterwards assisted in the engineering operations at Yorktown, when Cornwallis was captured. The chain was completed about the middle of April, 1778, and on the 1st of May it was stretched across the river and secured.

Colonel Timothy Pickering, accompanied by Captain Machin, arrived at the house of Mr. Townsend late on a Saturday night in March of that year, to engage him to make the chain. Townsend readily agreed to construct it, and in a violent snow-storm, amid the darkness of the night, the parties set out for the Sterling iron works. At daylight on Sunday morning the forges were in operation. New England teamsters carried the links, as fast as they were finished, to West Point, and in the space of six weeks the whole chain was completed. It weighed 180 tons.

The chain was stretched across the river at the narrowest point between the rocks just below the steamboat landing and Constitution Island opposite. It was fixed to huge blocks on each shore, and under the cover of batteries on both sides of the river. The remains of

these are still visible. "It is buoyed up," says Dr. Thacher, writing in 1780, "by very large logs of about sixteen feet long, pointed at the ends, to lessen their opposition to the force of the current at flood and ebb tide. The logs are placed at short distances from each other, the chain carried over them, and made fast to each by staples. There are also a number of anchors dropped at proper distances, with cables made fast to the chain, to give it greater stability."

Mr. Lossing describes a visit made by him in October, 1848, to West Point, where he saw a portion of the famous chain. He says: "There are twelve links, two clevises, and a portion of a link of the great chain remaining. The links are made of iron bars, two and a half inches square, average in length a little over two feet, and weigh about one hundred pounds each." The British vessels did not pass West Point. The manufacture of this chain was a great achievement. The Sterling iron works, at which the chain was made, are in operation to-day, and are the oldest active iron works in New York. Two other iron chains were stretched across the Hudson during the war to obstruct its passage. One of these was at the mouth of Murderer's creek, the iron for which was made at the forge of Jonas Williams. The other chain was at Fort Montgomery. This chain was broken by the British in 1777.

The following description of the Sterling works, which were the most extensive in New York until after the beginning of the present century, is translated from a book published at Paris in 1801, and lately discovered in that city by Mr. O. H. Marshall, a gentleman of antiquarian tastes, of Buffalo, New York. It was written by the Marquis de Creve-Cœur, who was in the French service in the French and Indian war, and afterwards traveled extensively in this country.

Hardly had we put our horses in the stable than Mr. Townsend, the proprietor, came to meet us with the politeness of a man of the world. Having learned that the object of our journey was to examine attentively his different works, he offered to show us all the details, and at once led us to his large furnace where the ore was melted and converted into pigs of 60 to 100 pounds' weight. The blast was supplied by two immense wooden blowers, neither iron nor leather being used in their construction. This furnace, he said, produced from 2,000 to 2,400 tons annually, three-fourths of which are converted into bars, the rest melted into cannon and cannon balls, &c. From there we went to see the forge. Six large hammers were occupied in forging bar iron and anchors and various pieces used on vessels.

Lower down the stream (which afforded power to the works) was the foundry, with its reverberatory furnace (air furnace). Here he called our attention to several ingenious machines destined for different uses. The models had been sent him, and the machines he had cast from iron of a recently discovered ore, which after two fusions acquired great fineness. With it he could do the lightest and most delicate work. "What a pity," he said, "that you did not come ten days sooner. I would have shown you, first, three new styles of plows, of which I have cast the largest pieces, and which, however, are no heavier than the old-fashioned. Each one of them is provided with a kind of steel yard, so graduated that one can tell the power of the team and the resistance of the soil. Second, I would have shown you a portable mill for separating the grain from the chaff, followed by another machine by which all the ears in the field can be easily gathered without being obliged to cut the stalk at the foot, according to the old method."

From the foundry we went to see the furnaces where the iron is converted into steel. "It is not yet as good as the Swedes," said Mr. T., "but we approach it—a few years more of experience and we will arrive at perfection. The iron which comes from under my hammers has had for a long time a high reputation and sells for £28 to £30 per ton." After having passed two days in examining these divers works and admiring the skill with which they were supplied with water, as well as the arrangements for furnishing the charcoal for the different furnaces, we parted from Mr. Townsend.

In 1765 there were iron works in Duchess county. A furnace and foundry at Amenia in this county were in operation during the Revolution, "at which steel and castings were made for the use of the army." A bloomary was in operation about the period of the Revolution at Patchogue, in Brookhaven township, Suffolk county, Long Island. At Riverhead, in Suffolk county, Captain Solomon Townsend established "a manufactory of bar iron" before the close of the last century. Iron ore was mined in Putnam county in the last century, some of which was taken to iron works on Long Island sound. In the manor of Philipsburg, in Westchester county, iron ore was mined and furnaces were erected before the close of the same century. About the time of the Revolution a furnace named Haverstraw and several bloomaries were in existence in Rockland county, on the western side of the Tappan Zee.

About the year 1800 the celebrated Champlain iron district was developed, and in 1801 the first iron works in the district were built at Willsborough falls, on the Boquet river, in Essex county, to manufacture anchors. George Throop, Levi Highly, and Charles Kane were the owners. Among other early iron enterprises in this district were the New Russia, Jay, and Elba forges in Essex county, and the Eagle rolling mill at Keeseville, in Clinton county. This district is now and for a long time has been the most important iron district in the state. It now contains six rolling mills, six blast furnaces, and twenty-two forges. The forges are all true bloomaries, manufacturing blooms, chiefly for conversion into steel, directly from the rich magnetic and specular ores of the neighborhood. The district comprises the counties of Essex, Clinton, and Franklin. A forge was built at West Fort Ann, in Washington county, south of Lake George, about 1802.

West of the Champlain district, in the counties of Saint Lawrence, Jefferson, Lewis, Oswego, and Oneida, many charcoal furnaces were built after the beginning of the present century, among the earliest of which were Rossie furnace in Saint Lawrence county, Taberg furnace in Oneida county, and Constantia furnace in Oswego county. In the extreme western and southwestern parts of the state the few iron enterprises that have had an existence during the present century have all been of yet more modern origin.

Nails were extensively manufactured by hand at Albany in 1787. Twenty years later, in 1807, John

Brinkerhoff, of Albany, lighted the fires in his newly-erected rolling mill on the Wynantskill. The Troy *Daily Times* says that "the operations of the little wooden rolling mill built by him were confined to converting Russian and Swedish bar iron into plates, which were slit into narrow strips, and these cut to the required length and made into nails by hand." In 1826 the nail factory of John Brinkerhoff was sold at auction, and was purchased for $5,280 by Erastus Corning, who was then engaged at Albany in the hardware business. It now forms part of the works of the Albany and Rensselaer Iron and Steel Company, the most extensive and important iron and steel works in the state.

Between 1790 and 1800 there are said to have been twenty-three patents granted in the United States for nail-making machinery, and down to 1825 the whole number granted is said to have been one hundred and twenty. Among these patents was one issued to Josiah G. Pierson, of New York, on the 23d of March, 1795, and the machine covered by this patent is said to have been the first nail-cutting machine that produced satisfactory results and was generally used. The inventor was at the time a member of the firm of J. G. Pierson & Brothers, which in the same year established works at the village of Ramapo, in Rockland county, New York, for the manufacture of iron and nails, and had previously, in 1787 or 1788, been engaged in the manufacture of cut nails, with an imperfect machine, in Whitehall street, in the city of New York. While the works were in New York the strips for the nails were rolled at a mill in Delaware, near Wilmington, to which Swedish and Russian iron were sent, no other mill being available at the time. This inconvenience was avoided after the establishment of the works at Ramapo, which embraced a rolling and slitting mill. The manufacture of nails by Mr. Pierson's machine was here actively prosecuted until about 1830, when the same firm, which had been making blister steel at Hoboken for twenty years, removed its steel furnaces to Ramapo, and substituted the manufacture of spring steel for that of nails. The works of the Messrs. Pierson at Ramapo have been succeeded by those of the celebrated Ramapo Wheel and Foundry Company.

The iron industry of New York was not so prominent during the eighteenth century as that of some other states, but soon after the beginning of the present century the development of the Champlain district gave to the industry more prominence, which was still further increased after 1840, when anthracite coal was applied to the manufacture of pig iron on the Hudson river and elsewhere in the state. In 1870, and again in 1880, it ranked third in the list of iron and steel producing states.

EARLY IRON ENTERPRISES IN NEW JERSEY.

In William Reed Deane's *Genealogical Memoirs of the Leonard Family*, already referred to, it is stated that Henry Leonard left Rowley Village, Massachusetts, early in 1674, "and at that time, or soon after, went to New Jersey, establishing the iron manufacture in that state." His sons Samuel, Nathaniel, and Thomas probably left Rowley Village soon after their father's departure, and followed him to New Jersey. Bishop says that Shrewsbury, a township lying northwest of Long Branch, in Monmouth county, was settled by Connecticut people soon after New Jersey was surrendered to the English by the Dutch in 1664, and that it was "to this part of Jersey" that Henry Leonard removed. About the time of the Connecticut settlement, James Grover, who had been a resident of Long Island, also settled in Shrewsbury, and is said to have established iron works in that township, which he afterwards sold to Colonel Lewis Morris, then a merchant of Barbadoes, but born in England. On October 26, 1676, a grant of land was made to Colonel Morris, with full liberty to him and his heirs "to dig, delve, and carry away all such mines for iron as they shall find or see fit to dig and carry away to the iron work," which establishes the fact that the iron works in Shrewsbury were built prior to 1676, and that they were then owned by Colonel Morris. They were probably undertaken about 1674, in which year Henry Leonard is said to have emigrated from Massachusetts to New Jersey. They were the first iron works in New Jersey.

In a brief account of the province of East Jersey, published by the proprietors in 1682, it is stated that "there is already a smelting furnace and forge set up in this colony, where is made good iron, which is of great benefit to the country." Smith, in his *History of New Jersey*, says that in 1682 "Shrewsbury, near Sandy Hook, adjoining the river or creek of that name, was already a township, consisting of several thousand acres, with large plantations contiguous; the inhabitants were computed to be about 400. Lewis Morris, of Barbadoes, had iron works and other considerable improvements here." In 1685 it was stated in *The Model of the Government of East New Jersey* that "there is an iron work already set up, where there is good iron made." In the same year Thomas Budd, in his *Good Order in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, wrote that there was but one iron work in New Jersey, and that this was located in Monmouth county. All of these statements refer to the Shrewsbury works, which do not seem to have had a long life. According to Oldmixon, they were located between the towns of Shrewsbury and Middletown. They used bog ore.

The rich deposits of magnetic iron ore in northern New Jersey were discovered at an early day, and about 1710, as we are informed by the Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Tuttle, in his *Early History of Morris County*, written in 1869, settlements were made on the Whippany river, in Hanover township, in Morris county; and at a place now called Whippany, four miles northeast of Morristown, a forge was erected. Bishop says that the first settlers of Hanover

located there "for the purpose of smelting the iron ores in the neighborhood." They "early erected several forges and engaged extensively in the iron manufacture." Whippany is about fifteen miles east of the celebrated Succasunna iron-ore mine, in the present township of Roxbury, and it was here that the settlers obtained their supply of ore. The ore was carried to the works in leather bags on pack-horses, and the iron was carried in the same way over the Orange mountains to Newark. Bishop says that "forges at Morristown, and some in Essex county, were long supplied in the same way from the rich ore of the mine. The ore was for some time free to all." Dr. Tuttle says: "The Succasunna mine lot was located in 1716 by John Reading, and sold the same year to Joseph Kirkbride, containing 558 acres, and after his death the tract was divided between his three sons, Joseph, John, and Mahlon Kirkbride, except the mine lot, which was held by them in common until such time as the same should be sold." This celebrated iron-ore deposit has long been known as the "Dickerson mine."

Dr. Tuttle says that in 1722 Joseph Latham sold a tract of land in the present township of Mendham, in Morris county, to "one John Jackson, who built a forge on the little stream which puts into the Rockaway near the residence of Mr. Jacob Hurd. The forge was nearly in front of Mr. Hurd's house," a mile west of Dover. Wood for charcoal was abundant, and the mine on the hill was not far distant. For some reason Jackson did not succeed in his iron enterprise, and was sold out by the sheriff in 1753. Dr. Tuttle says that Rockaway was settled about 1725, or possibly as late as 1730, "at which time a small iron forge was built near where the upper forge now stands in Rockaway." This statement fixes the date and location of the first forge at Rockaway. The Doctor says that subsequently "forges were built on different streams, at Rockaway, Denmark, Middle Forge, Ninkee, Shaungum, Franklin, and other places from the year 1725 to 1770." At Troy, in Morris county, as we learn from another source, a forge was built in 1743, which was in operation as late as 1860. All these forges were bloomaries, manufacturing bar iron from the ore.

At the close of the seventeenth century and for some years after the beginning of the eighteenth century New Jersey was the only colony outside of New England that was engaged in the manufacture of iron, and this manufacture was almost wholly confined to its bloomaries. The rich magnetic ores, the well-wooded hillsides, and the restless mountain streams of Northern New Jersey afforded every facility for the manufacture of iron of a superior quality by this primitive method, while the nearness of good markets furnished a sufficient inducement to engage in the business. The bloomaries of New Jersey were Catalan forges of the German type.

Not much progress was made, however, in the establishment of the iron industry in New Jersey until the middle of the eighteenth century. From about 1740 down to the Revolution many furnaces and other iron works were built in New Jersey. Its iron industry during the greater part of this period was exceedingly active, although greatly hampered by restrictions imposed by the mother country. To the iron enterprises which were then built up within its borders the patriotic cause was afterwards greatly indebted for much of the iron and steel that were needed to secure its ascendency.

Peter Hasenclever, a Prussian gentleman of distinction, who is usually referred to as Baron Hasenclever, emigrated to New Jersey in 1764, as the head of an iron company which he had organized in London, and brought with him a large number of German miners and ironworkers. His career in this country is very fully described by Dr. Tuttle in his history, and by Edmund D. Halsey, Esq., of Rockaway, in a letter which we have received from him. Dr. Tuttle first gives an account of the Ringwood Company, which was organized in 1740 and was principally composed of several persons named Ogden. In the year named and in 1764 the company purchased about thirty acres of land at Ringwood, near Greenwood lake, in Bergen, now Passaic, county. By one of the purchases of 1764 Joseph Board conveys to the company a tract of land at Ringwood "near the old forge and dwelling house of Walter Erwin." On July 5, 1764, the Ringwood Company sell to "Peter Hasenclever, late of London, merchant," for £5,000, all of the company's lands at Ringwood. The deed states that on the property there are "erected and standing a furnace, two forges, and several dwelling houses." It speaks of "Timothy Ward's forge;" also of the "old forge at Ringwood." Hasenclever also bought from various persons other tracts of land in 1764 at Ringwood and in its vicinity, and in 1765 he bought several tracts of land from Lord Stirling. These various purchases were located at Ringwood, Pompton, Long Pond, and Charlottenburg, all in Bergen county. Hasenclever also probably purchased an interest in the iron-ore mines at Hibernia. Dr. Tuttle says that "Hasenclever at once began to enlarge the old works and build new ones at each of the places just named," that is, Ringwood, Pompton, Long Pond, and Charlottenburg. It is probable that he built a furnace and one or more forges at each place. Three furnaces and six forges he certainly erected. The furnaces were erected, respectively, as follows: Charlottenburg, on the west branch of the Pequannock; Ringwood, on the Ringwood branch of the Pequannock; Long Pond, on the Winockie, and about two miles from Greenwood lake. Charlottenburg was built in 1767, and was capable of producing from 20 to 25 tons of pig iron weekly. Long Pond was in blast in 1768.

Hasenclever undoubtedly succeeded in making good iron, some of which was shipped to England. He also made steel of good quality directly from the ore. In 1768 he became financially embarrassed, and in 1770 was formally declared a bankrupt. He was succeeded in the management of the company's works by John Jacob Faesch, who had come to New Jersey with him, under an engagement as manager of the iron works for seven years. Faesch was a native of Hesse Cassel. He is said to have mismanaged the affairs of the company, and in 1771 or

1772 was succeeded by Robert Erskine, a Scotchman, who appears to have met with success until 1776, when all the works were stopped by the opening of hostilities, and Charlottenburg furnace was accidentally burned.

Robert Erskine was thoroughly loyal to the Revolutionary cause, and held a commission as captain in the New Jersey militia. He died at Ringwood in 1780, "and his grave occupies a retired spot about a quarter of a mile from the ruins of the old Ringwood furnace, near the road leading from Ringwood to West Milford."

The Adventure furnace, at Hibernia, in Morris county, was a famous furnace during the Revolution, casting ordnance and other iron supplies for the army. It was built about 1765. Mr. Halsey says that a tract of land was located November 23, 1765, "about three-quarters of a mile above the new furnace called the Adventure." The name usually given to this furnace is Hibernia. Dr. Tuttle says that "the names of Lord Stirling, Benjamin Cooper, and Samuel Ford are connected with the original building and ownership of the Hibernia works." He also says that "Benjamin Cooper & Co." held "pew No. 6" in the old Rockaway meeting-house in 1768. A grant of certain privileges to encourage the enterprise was made by the legislature in 1769. In 1765 Ford sold his interest in the furnace to Anderson and Cooper, after which sale he was actively engaged for a number of years in the business of counterfeiting "Jersey bills of credit," which he afterwards pleasantly referred to as "a piece of engenuity." In 1768 he participated in the robbery of the treasury of the province at Amboy, his former partner, Cooper, being one of his associates. Ford was arrested in 1773, but escaped to Virginia; Cooper and others were also arrested and convicted, but all except one escaped punishment, and he was hanged. Previous to the time of his arrest, in 1773, Cooper appears to have sold his interest in Hibernia furnace to Lord Stirling, who became its sole owner about this time.

Mount Hope furnace, about four miles northwest of Rockaway, was built in 1772 by John Jacob Faesch. It was active until about 1825. It also was a noted furnace during the Revolution, casting shot and shells and cannon for the Continental army. In September, 1776, Joseph Hoff, who was at this time the manager of Hibernia furnace, wrote to its owner that Faesch had spoken to him "to inform you that he wanted 200 tons of pig metal, and wanted to know your price and terms of payment. Iron will undoubtedly be in great demand, as few works on the continent are doing anything this season." This letter indicates that at the time it was written Faesch owned or controlled a forge for converting pig iron into bar iron. On the 14th of November, 1776, Hoff wrote to General Knox that there were then 35 tons of shot at Hibernia furnace, and on the 21st of November he wrote that it was the only furnace in New Jersey which he knew to be then in blast. The Hibernia and the Mount Hope furnaces were both in blast in 1777. Mr. Halsey informs us that among the laws of New Jersey for 1777 is an act, passed October 7, exempting men to be employed at Mount Hope and Hibernia furnaces from military service, and reciting the necessity of providing the army and navy of the United States with cannon, cannon shot, etc., and that the works "have been for some time past employed" in providing such articles, and "are now under contract for a large quantity." Faesch is said by Dr. Tuttle to have become the lessee of Hibernia furnace at some time during the war. He says "this must have been subsequent to July 10, 1778, at which date I find a letter to Lord Stirling, from Charles Hoff, his manager at Hibernia, reporting to him what he was doing."

Faesch died at Old Boonton in 1799, and was buried at Morristown. Dr. Tuttle says that "in his day John Jacob Faesch was one of the great men of Morris county, regarded as its greatest ironmaster, one of its richest men, and one of its most loyal citizens." General Washington and his staff once visited him at Mount Hope.

Lord Stirling, whose proper name was William Alexander, was born in New York in 1726 and died in 1783. As has been shown in the chapter relating to New York, his name has been given to one of the oldest and most successful iron enterprises in the country.

Colonel Jacob Ford, Sr., was a large landholder in Morris county about the middle of the last century. In 1756 he was the owner of "iron works" at Mount Pleasant, three miles west of Rockaway. There was a forge at this place as late as 1856, but almost in ruins. In 1764 John Harriman owned a forge called Burnt Meadow forge, at Denmark, about five miles north of Rockaway, of which Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., afterwards became the owner. Colonel Ford also about the same time became the owner of the forge below Denmark and above Mount Pleasant, called ever since Middle forge, which was built on land located by Jonathan Osborne in 1749. The United States Government now owns the site of the forge last mentioned. John Johnson had "iron works" at Horse Pound, now Beach Glen, a mile and a half below Hibernia, from 1753 to 1765, as appears from references to them in the title papers of adjoining lands.

In Andover township, in Sussex county, a furnace and forge were erected by a strong company before the Revolution, probably about 1760, and the works were operated on an extensive scale. About the beginning of hostilities the works were stopped, the company being principally composed of royalists. The excellent quality of the iron made from the ore of the Andover mine led, however, to such legislation by Congress in January, 1778, as resulted in again putting them in operation. Mr. Whitehead Humphreys, of Philadelphia, was directed by Congress to make steel for the use of the army from Andover iron, as the iron made at the Andover works was the only iron which would "with certainty answer the purpose of making steel." The action of Congress is given in detail by the Hon. Jacob W. Miller, in his address before the New Jersey Historical Society in 1854, who also records the interesting fact that William Penn was an early owner of the Andover mine. He says that, "on the

10th of March, 1714, by a warrant from the council of proprietors, he acquired title to a large tract of land, situated among the mountains, then of Hunterton, now of Sussex, county, and William Penn became the owner of one of the richest mines of iron ore in New Jersey. This mine, since called Andover, was opened and worked to a considerable extent as early as 1760. Tradition reveals to us that the products of these works were carried upon pack-horses and carts down the valley of the Mosconetcong to a place on the Delaware called Durham, and were thence transported to Philadelphia in boats, which were remarkable for their beauty and model, and are known as Durham boats to this day."

Franklin furnace, near Hamburg, in Sussex county, which was built in 1770 and abandoned about 1860, has been succeeded by one of the largest anthracite furnaces in the country—67 feet high and 23 feet wide at the boshes.

Israel Acrelius, the historian of New Sweden, who resided in this country from 1750 to 1756, mentions five iron enterprises then existing in New Jersey—the Union iron works, and Oxford, Sterling, Ogden's, and Mount Holly furnaces. Oxford furnace, on a branch of the Pequest river, at Oxford, in Warren county, was built by Jonathan Robeson in 1742. Tradition says that it was first blown by a water-blast. A pig of Oxford iron, bearing the date "1755," is now in possession of the Historical Society at Trenton. Oxford cannon balls, cast during the French war, have also been preserved. Cannon balls were cast at this furnace for the Continental army. The furnace is still standing and was in operation in 1880, using anthracite coal. It is the second furnace in New Jersey of which there is any exact record, the Shrewsbury furnace being the first. It divides with Cornwall furnace, in Pennsylvania, the honor of being the oldest furnace in the United States that is now in operation. The Union iron works were situated near Clinton, in Hunterton county, and embraced at the time of Acrelius's visit two furnaces and two forges, "each with two stacks;" also a trip-hammer and a "flatting-hammer." These works were then owned by William Allen and Thomas Turner, of Philadelphia. William Allen was chief justice of Pennsylvania from 1751 to 1774. Allentown, in Pennsylvania, was named after him. He was largely interested in the manufacture of iron in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In October, 1775, he gave his "half of a quantity of cannon shot belonging to him and to Turner for the use of the Board of the Council of Safety;" but he remained loyal to the British crown, nevertheless, dying in London in 1780. The Union iron works appear to have been entirely abandoned in 1778. Judge Allen informed Acrelius that at the Union iron works, and also at Durham, (hereafter to be mentioned,) one and a half tons of ore yielded one ton of pig iron, and that a good furnace yielded from twenty to twenty-five tons of pig iron weekly. Ogden's furnace was situated near Newton, in Sussex county. Mount Holly furnace was situated at the town of that name, in Burlington county. It was built between 1730 and 1747, and is probably as old as Oxford furnace. A forge was connected with the furnace. The works stood where the saw-mill at the south end of Pine street, on Rancocas creek, now stands. All of the furnaces named, except Mount Holly, used magnetic ore; Mount Holly, according to Acrelius, used "brittle bog ore in gravel," which was "only serviceable for castings." But the existence of the forge, and the further fact that pig iron has been found in the ruins of the works, show that the ore was used for something else than castings. The furnace was in operation before and partly through the Revolution. It was destroyed by the British during that period. Acrelius mentions, but does not name, four bloomaries in New Jersey, all "in full blast" during his visit. The Sterling furnace referred to by Acrelius was Sterling furnace in New York, but then probably embraced within the boundaries of New Jersey, particulars of which have already been given.

On the 10th of November, 1750, Governor Belcher certified that there were in New Jersey "one mill or engine for slitting and rolling of iron, situate in the township of Bethlehem, in the county of Hunterton, on the south branch of the river Raritan, the property of Messrs. William Allen and Joseph Turner, of Philadelphia, which is not now in use; one plating-forge, which works with a tilt-hammer, situate on a small brook at the west end of Trenton, the property of Benjamin Yard, of Hunterton, which is now used; one furnace for the making of steel, situate in Trenton, the property of Benjamin Yard, which is not now used." Steel was, however, made at Trenton during the Revolution. A rolling and slitting mill was built at Old Boonton, in Morris county, before the Revolution, and a similar enterprise was established at Dover, in the same county, in 1792, by Israel Canfield and Jacob Losey. In 1800 there were in this county three rolling and slitting mills, two furnaces, "and about forty forges with two to four fires each."

Mr. Halsey furnishes us with the following interesting episode in the history of Old Boonton slitting mill: "A slitting mill was erected at Old Boonton, on the Rockaway river, about a mile below the present town of Boonton, in defiance of the law, by Samuel Ogden, of Newark, with the aid of his father. The entrance was from the hillside, and in the upper room first entered there were stones for grinding grain, the slitting mill being below and out of sight. It is said that Governor William Franklin visited the place suddenly, having heard a rumor of its existence, but was so hospitably entertained by Mr. Ogden, and the iron works were so effectually concealed, that the Governor came away saying he was glad to find that it was a groundless report, as he had always supposed."

In the southern part of New Jersey several furnaces were built at an early day to smelt the bog ores of that section. Of these the furnace at Mount Holly, already mentioned, was probably the oldest. Batsto furnace, also

in Burlington county, was built about 1766 by Charles Reed, and cast shot and shells for the Continental army. Many bloomaries were also built in this section in the last century, to work bog ores. The "Jersey pines" furnished the fuel for both the furnaces and bloomaries. It was stated in the chapter relating to New England iron enterprises in the last century that ore was taken from Egg Harbor, in New Jersey, to supply some Massachusetts furnaces. This was bog ore. Batsto furnace was situated on Little Egg Harbor river, and ran until after the middle of the present century. Sheet iron was made at a forge at Mount Holly in 1775, by Thomas Mayburry, some of which was used to make camp-kettles for the Continental army. A nail factory was in operation at Burlington in 1797. In 1814 or 1815 Benjamin and David Reeves, brothers, established the Cumberland nail and iron works at Bridgeton, in Cumberland county, and for many years successfully manufactured nails, with which they largely supplied the eastern markets. These works are still in operation.

In 1784 New Jersey had eight furnaces and seventy-nine forges and bloomaries, but principally bloomaries. In 1802 there were in New Jersey, according to a memorial to Congress adopted in that year, 150 forges, "which, at a moderate calculation, would produce twenty tons of bar iron each annually, amounting to 3,000 tons." At the same time there were in the state seven blast furnaces in operation and six that were out of blast; also four rolling and slitting mills, "which rolled and slit on an average 200 tons, one-half of which was manufactured into nails." Of the forges mentioned, about 120 were in Morris, Sussex, and Bergen counties. Of the numerous charcoal furnaces which once dotted New Jersey not one now remains which uses charcoal, the introduction of anthracite coal in the smelting of iron ores, which took place about 1840, rendering the further production of charcoal pig iron in New Jersey undesirable. The last charcoal furnace erected in the state was built at Split Rock, in Morris county, by the late Andrew B. Cobb, just prior to the civil war, but it was soon abandoned. Only two or three of the old bloomaries of New Jersey now remain, although there are in the state a few bloomaries and forges of modern origin, as well as a number of large rolling mills, steel works, wire works, pipe works, and anthracite furnaces.

Peter Cooper, now living in New York at the age of 90 years, embarked in the iron business at Trenton, in New Jersey, in 1845, where, as is stated by the *American Cyclopædia*, "he erected the largest rolling mill at that time in the United States for the manufacture of railroad iron, and at which subsequently he was the first to roll wrought-iron beams for fire-proof buildings." He had previously, however, been prominently engaged in the manufacture of iron at Baltimore and New York. In connection with members of his family he also embarked in many other important iron enterprises in New Jersey. His name has been the most prominent and the most honored in the iron history of the state during the present century.

In 1870 New Jersey was fourth in rank among the iron-producing states of the Union, but in 1880 it had fallen to the fifth place.

THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN PENNSYLVANIA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

The settlers on the Delaware, under the successive administrations of the Swedes and Dutch and the Duke of York, down to 1682, appear to have made no effort to manufacture iron in any form. In the *Journal of a Voyage to New York* in 1679 and 1680, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, who then visited the Swedish and other settlements on the Delaware, it is expressly declared that iron ore had not been seen by them on Tinicum Island or elsewhere in the neighborhood. Jasper Dankers says: "As to there being a mine of iron ore upon it, I have not seen any upon that island, or elsewhere; and if it were so, it is of no great importance, for such mines are so common in this country that little account is made of them."

Under the more energetic rule of William Penn, who sailed up the Delaware in the ship *Welcome* in 1682, the manufacture of iron in Pennsylvania had its beginning. In a letter written by Penn to Lord Keeper North, in July, 1683, he mentions the existence of "mineral of copper and iron in divers places" in Pennsylvania. In his *Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania*, written in 1685, speaking of "things that we have in prospect for staples of trade," he says: "I might add iron, (perhaps copper, too,) for there is much mine, and it will be granted us that we want no wood." In a letter to James Logan, the secretary of the province, dated London, April 21, 1702, he says, under the heading of "*Iron Works:*" "Call on those people for an answer to the heads I gave them from Ambrose Crawley. Divers would engage here in it as soon as they receive an account, which, in a time of war, would serve the country. Things as to America will come under another regulation after a while." To this letter Logan replied from Philadelphia, under date of October 1, 1702, as follows: "I have spoke to the chief of those concerned in the iron mines, but they seem careless, having never had a meeting since thy departure; their answer is that they have not yet found any considerable vein." Samuel Smiles, in his *Industrial Biography*, says: "William Penn, the courtier Quaker, had iron furnaces at Hawkhurst and other places in Sussex." It was, therefore, but natural that he should encourage the manufacture of iron in his province, and it was certainly through no indifference or neglect of his that it was not established at an early day.

In 1692 we find the first mention of iron having been made in Pennsylvania. It is contained in a metrical composition entitled *A Short Description of Pennsylvania*, by Richard Frame: printed and sold by William Bradford,

in Philadelphia, in 1692. He says that at "a certain place about some forty pound" of iron had then been made. The entire reference is as follows:

> A certain place here is, where some begun
> To try some Mettle, and have made it run,
> Wherein was Iron absolutely found,
> At once was known about some Forty Pound.

It is to be regretted that Frame was not more explicit in describing the place where this iron was made. It was possibly made in a bloomary fire—probably in a blacksmith's fire.

In 1698 Gabriel Thomas published at London *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania and of West New Jersey in America*, in which mention is made of the mineral productions of these colonies. Alluding to Pennsylvania, he says: "There is likewise ironstone or ore, lately found, which far exceeds that in England, being richer and less drossy. Some preparations have been made to carry on an iron work." But neither these preparations nor the enterprise alluded to by Richard Frame led to satisfactory results.

Mrs. James, in her *Memorial of Thomas Potts, Junior*, gives an account of the first successful attempt that was made to establish iron works in Pennsylvania. The event, which occurred in 1716, is briefly described in one of Jonathan Dickinson's letters, written in 1717, and quoted by Mrs. James: "This last summer one Thomas Rutter, a smith, who lives not far from Germantown, hath removed further up in the country, and of his own strength hath set upon making iron. Such it proves to be, as is highly set by by all the smiths here, who say that the best of Sweed's iron doth not exceed it; and we have accounts of others that are going on with iron works." Rutter's enterprise was a bloomary forge, located on Manatawny creek, in Berks county, about three miles above Pottstown. The name of this first forge is uncertain. Mrs. James says that the name was Pool forge. There was certainly a Pool forge on the Manatawny as early as 1728, in which year it is mentioned in Thomas Rutter's will. The name of Rutter's pioneer enterprise may, however, have been Manatawny. In the Philadelphia *Weekly Mercury* for November 1, 1720, Thomas Fare, a Welshman, is said to have run away from "the forge at Manatawny." Bishop says: "A forge is mentioned in March, 1719–'20, at Manatawny, then in Philadelphia, but now in Berks or Montgomery county. It was attacked by the Indians in 1728, but they were repulsed with great loss by the workmen."

Mrs. James says that Rutter was an English Quaker, who was a resident of Philadelphia in 1685, and who removed in 1714 from Germantown "forty miles up the Schuylkill, in order to work the iron mines of the Manatawny region." She gives a *verbatim* copy of the original patent of William Penn to Thomas Rutter for 300 acres of land "on Manahatawny creek," dated February 12, 1714–'15.

The following obituary notice in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published at Philadelphia, dated March 5 to March 13, 1729–'30, ought to be conclusive proof of the priority of Thomas Rutter's enterprise: "Philadelphia, March 13. On Sunday night last died here Thomas Rutter, Senior, of a short illness. He was the first that erected an iron work in Pennsylvania." In his will he is styled a blacksmith. Many of his descendants have been prominent Pennsylvania ironmasters. Mrs. James says that Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a great-grandson of Thomas Rutter.

The next iron enterprise in Pennsylvania was Coventry forge, on French creek, in the northern part of Chester county, which was built by Samuel Nutt, also an English Quaker. Egle's *History of Pennsylvania* says that Nutt arrived in the province in 1714, and that "he took up land, on French creek, in 1717, and about that time built a forge there. A letter written by him in 1720 mentions an intention of erecting another forge that fall." We have seen this letter, which is dated July 2, 1720. It is written in Friends' language. Nutt proposed to build the new forge on French creek. Mrs. James states that Nutt purchased 800 acres of land at Coventry in October, 1718. This was in addition to his earlier purchases. He probably made iron at Coventry forge in that year. Bishop refers to a letter written by Dickinson, in July, 1718, stating that "the expectations from the iron works forty miles up Schuylkill are very great." In April, 1719, Dickinson again wrote: "Our iron promises well. What hath been sent over to England hath been greatly approved. Our smiths work up all they make, and it is as good as the best Swedish iron." Dickinson probably referred to Nutt's forge as well as to Rutter's.

Coventry forge was in operation in 1756, and in 1770 it is noted on William Scull's map of Pennsylvania. It was in operation after the Revolution, and in 1856 a forge of the same name, which is now abandoned, was in operation at or near the original site.

The next iron enterprise in Pennsylvania was undoubtedly Colebrookdale furnace, which was erected about 1720 by a company of which Thomas Rutter was the principal member. It was located on Ironstone creek, in Colebrookdale township, in Berks county, about eight miles north of Pottstown, three-fourths of a mile west of Boyertown, and about two hundred yards from the Colebrookdale railroad. Plenty of cinder marks the exact site to-day. A large grist and saw mill stands about one hundred feet distant. This furnace supplied Pool forge with pig iron, and in course of time other forges. Both Pool and Coventry forges were at first probably operated as bloomaries. The company which built Colebrookdale furnace appears to have been composed of Thomas Rutter, James Lewis, Anthony Morris, and others—Rutter owning a two-thirds interest, as is shown by his will, dated November 27, 1728, on file in the office of the register of wills in Philadelphia.

In 1731, according to Mrs. James, Colebrookdale furnace and Pool forge were both owned by companies. In

the list of owners of both establishments appears the name of Thomas Potts, the founder of a family of the same name which has ever since been prominent in the manufacture of iron in Pennsylvania and in other states. He died at Colebrookdale in January, 1752. He was in his day the most successful iron manufacturer in Pennsylvania. In his will, dated 1747, he leaves his "two-thirds of Colebrookdale furnace and iron mines" to his son Thomas, and his "one-third of Pine forge" to his son John. He was of English or Welsh extraction. In 1733 the furnace was torn down and rebuilt by the company, Thomas Potts being the manager. A second Pool forge appears to have been built prior to this time, higher up the stream than the first venture. Mrs. James writes us as follows: "I have a large calf-bound folio ledger of nearly 200 folios of Colebrookdale furnace, marked 'B.' The first date is August, 1728, but there are several pages referring to the first ledger, one of them in 1726. Mention is constantly made of sending 'piggs' to Pool forge, proving that Pool was then in full blast. 'A' would seem to be a large volume from reference to the folios," and therefore to have covered the operations of a number of years. Mrs. James thinks that it is lost. She adds that on the title-page of ledger "B" the name of Thomas Potts is written in connection with the year 1728, probably as the manager or lessee of the furnace. He was a resident of Manatawny in 1725.

On Nicholas Scull's map of Pennsylvania, published in 1759, Colebrookdale furnace is noted, and in a list of iron works existing in Pennsylvania in 1793, and published by Mrs. James, it is again mentioned, although it was not then active. We have not found it mentioned at any later period. A stove-plate cast at this furnace in 1763 was exhibited at the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876. In 1731 pig iron sold at Colebrookdale furnace "in large quantities" at £5 10*s.* per ton, Pennsylvania currency, a pound being equal to $2 66⅔. It would seem that friendly Indians were employed at Colebrookdale furnace, as "Indian John" and "Margalitha" are found in the list of workmen about 1728. The furnace was located in the heart of one of the richest deposits of magnetic iron ore in the United States. After being neglected for a long time this deposit is now the center of great mining activity.

Durham furnace, on the Delaware river, in the extreme northern part of Bucks county, was built in 1727 by a company of fourteen persons, of which Anthony Morris, William Allen, Joseph Turner, and James Logan (Penn's secretary) were members. Its first blast took place in the spring of 1728, and in November of that year James Logan shipped three tons of Durham pig iron to England. At the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 the keystone of the Durham furnace, bearing date "1727," was an object of interest.

It is probable that about 1750 there were two Durham furnaces. On Nicholas Scull's map of Pennsylvania (1759) an old and a new furnace and a forge at Durham are distinctly marked. In 1770 there were two furnaces and two forges at Durham. There were at one time three forges on Durham creek. As late as 1780 negro slaves were employed at Durham, twelve of whom in that year escaped to the British lines. Much of the iron made at Durham was taken to Philadelphia in boats fashioned somewhat like an Indian canoe, and first built at Durham; hence the term afterwards in common use, "Durham boats."

Redmond Conyngham, quoted by Day, says that iron works are supposed to have been established in Lancaster county in 1726 by a person named Kurtz, who is said by another authority to have been an Amish Mennonite. In Egle's *History of Pennsylvania* it is stated that Kurtz's works were on Octorara creek, and that it is possible they were in Maryland, and not in Lancaster county. Conyngham also says that the enterprising family of Grubbs "commenced operations in 1728," also in Lancaster county. Both history and tradition are silent concerning the nature of these alleged "operations" at that time.

In 1728 James Logan wrote that "there are four furnaces in blast in the colony." Colebrookdale and Durham were certainly two of these, but the names of the others are in doubt.

The iron industry of Pennsylvania may be fairly said to have been established on a firm foundation at this period. In 1728–'29 the colony exported 274 tons of pig iron to the mother country. The production of a Pennsylvania furnace at this time was about two tons of iron in twenty-four hours.

The manufacture of nails in Pennsylvania commenced at a very early day. In 1731 George Megee, nailer, at the corner of Front and Arch streets, Philadelphia, advertised for sale, wholesale and retail, all sorts of nails of his own manufacture.

The erection of other forges and furnaces proceeded with great rapidity in the Schuylkill valley and in other eastern portions of Pennsylvania after Rutter and other pioneers had shown the way. McCall's forge, afterwards called Glasgow forge, on Manatawny creek, in Berks county, a short distance above Pottstown and below Pool forge, was built by George McCall about 1725. Spring forge, on the Manatawny, in Berks county, west of Colebrookdale furnace and about five miles north of Douglassville, was built in 1729, probably by Anthony Morris. These forges, as well as Pool forge, were supplied with pig iron from Colebrookdale furnace. Green Lane forge, on Perkiomen creek, in Montgomery county, twenty miles north of Norristown, was built in 1733 by Thomas Mayburry. The workmen employed here were at one time chiefly negro slaves. This forge was supplied with pig iron from Durham furnace before 1747. Mount Pleasant furnace, on Perkiomen creek, in Berks county, thirteen miles above Pottstown, was built by Thomas Potts, Jr., in 1738. A forge of the same name was added before 1743. Pine forge, on the Manatawny, in Berks county, about five miles above Pottstown, was built about 1740 by Thomas Potts, Jr. Spring, Glasgow, Mount Pleasant, and Green Lane forges were in operation down to the middle of the

present century. Pine forge was converted into Pine rolling mill in 1845, and upon the site of Glasgow forge there was erected in 1874 and 1876 a rolling mill which is known as the Glasgow iron works.

It is supposed that Nutt built a furnace called Reading soon after he built Coventry forge, but this is uncertain. Mrs. James says that two furnaces bearing that name were erected, about a mile from each other, the second after the first was abandoned. It is certain that a furnace of this name was built by Samuel Nutt and William Branson, on French creek, about 1736. We think that this was the second Reading furnace, and that both were built by Nutt and Branson. In the inventory of the estate of Samuel Nutt, which Gilbert Cope, of West Chester, has kindly placed in our hands, mention is made of "a ring round the shaft at the old furnace," and of "one tonn of sow mettle at new furnace." Acrelius, in speaking of the iron ore on French creek, says: "Its discoverer is Mr. Nutt, who afterwards took Mr. Branz into partnership." The reference is to William Branson. This event occurred as early as March 29, 1728, as their names then appear in the Philadelphia *Weekly Mercury* as partners. Acrelius further says: "They both went to England, brought workmen back with them, and continued together." Mrs. James says: "The 15th day of March, 1736, Samuel Nutt and William Branson entered into an agreement with John Potts to carry on their furnace called Redding, recently built near Coventry, and of which they are styled 'joint owners.'" At a meeting of the Provincial Council on January 25, 1737, "a petition of sundry inhabitants of the county of Lancaster was presented to the board and read, setting forth the want of a road from the town of Lancaster to Coventry iron works, on French creek, in Chester county, and praying that proper persons of each of the counties may be appointed for laying out the same from Lancaster town to the said iron works, one branch of which road to goe to the new furnace, called Redding's furnace, now erecting on the said creek." On October 7th of the same year commissioners were appointed to lay out the road.

Samuel Nutt died late in 1737. In his will, dated September 25, 1737, he gave one-half of his "right" to Redding furnace and Coventry forge to his wife, and the other half to Samuel Nutt, Jr., and his wife. He also made provision for the erection of a new furnace by his wife. This furnace was commenced in the same year, and was built on the south branch of French creek. It was probably finished in 1738. In 1740 its management fell into the hands of Robert Grace, (a friend of Benjamin Franklin,) who then married the widow of Samuel Nutt, Jr. This lady was the grand-daughter of Thomas Rutter. The new furnace was called Warwick. The celebrated Franklin stove was invented by Benjamin Franklin in 1742, and in his autobiography he says: "I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who, having an iron furnace, found the casting of the plates for these stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand." Mrs. James has seen one of these stoves with the words "Warwick Furnace" cast on the front in letters two inches long. Bishop says that Warwick furnace "was blown by long wooden bellows propelled by water wheels, and when in blast made 25 or 30 tons of iron per week." It continued in operation during a part of almost every year, from its erection in 1738 down to 1867, when its last blast came to an end and the furnace was abandoned. During the Revolution it was very active in casting cannon for the Continental army, some of which were buried upon the approach of the British in 1777.

After Samuel Nutt's death Reading furnace became the property of his partner, William Branson. It is noted on Nicholas Scull's map of 1759. Coventry forge finally fell to Samuel Nutt's heirs. The German traveler, Schoepf, writing in 1783 of some Pennsylvania furnaces and forges, makes the following mention of Warwick and Reading furnaces: "Warwick furnace, 19 miles from Reading, near Pottsgrove, makes the most iron, often 40 tons a week; the iron ore lies 10 feet under the surface. Reading furnace, not far from the former, is at present fallen into decay. Here the smelting would formerly often continue from 12 to 18 months at a stretch."

At an uncertain period before 1750 William Branson and others established on French creek the first steel works in Pennsylvania. They were called Vincent steel works. They are thus described by Acrelius: "At French creek, or Branz's works, there is a steel furnace, built with a draught hole, and called an 'air oven.' In this iron bars are set at the distance of an inch apart. Between them are scattered horn, coal-dust, ashes, etc. The iron bars are thus covered with blisters, and this is called 'blister steel.' It serves as the best steel to put upon edge-tools. These steel works are now said to be out of operation." Vincent forge, with four fires and two hammers, was connected with Vincent steel furnace, but the date of its erection is also uncertain. It is noted on William Scull's map of 1770. The furnace and forge were located about six miles from the mouth of French creek, and about five miles distant from Coventry forge, which was farther up the stream. Before February 15, 1797, a rolling and slitting mill had been added to the forge. We do not hear of the steel furnace after 1780, nor of the forge after 1800.

In 1742 William Branson, then owner of Reading furnace, bought from David Jenkins a tract of 400 acres of land on Conestoga creek, near Churchtown, in Caernarvon township, Lancaster county, on which in 1747 he erected a forge, which he called Windsor. This forge was speedily followed by another of the same name. In a short time afterwards, as we are informed by Mr. James McCaa, "Branson sold out to the English company, who were Lynford Lardner, Samuel Flower, and Richard Hockley, Esqs., who held it for thirty years, when, in 1773, David Jenkins, son of the original proprietor, bought the half interest of the company for the sum of £2,500, and in two years afterwards bought the other half for the sum of £2,400, including the negroes and stock used on the premises." Robert Jenkins inherited the Windsor property from his father David, and managed Windsor forges with great success for fifty years, dying in 1848. They have since been abandoned.

Acrelius, narrating events which occurred between 1750 and 1756, mentions the enterprises of Nutt and Branson as follows: "Each has his own furnace—Branz at Reading, Nutt at Warwick. Each also has his own forges—Branz in Windsor. Nutt supplies four forges besides his own in Chester county." Nutt was not living at the time this was written, but Acrelius's confounding of ownership is easily understood. Nor is it probable that Branson operated Windsor forges in 1750. In that year he is reported as having then owned a furnace for making steel in Philadelphia, and soon after 1743 it is known that he sold Windsor forges to the "English company," which was composed of his sons-in-law. William Branson was himself an Englishman, who emigrated to Pennsylvania about 1708 and became a Philadelphia merchant. He died in 1760.

There was a forge on Crum creek, about two miles above the town of Chester, in Delaware county, which was built by John Crosby and Peter Dicks about 1742. Peter Kalm, the Swede, in his *Travels into North America*, written in 1748 and 1749, thus describes it: "About two English miles behind Chester I passed by an iron forge, which was to the right hand by the road side. It belonged to two brothers, as I was told. The ore, however, is not dug here, but thirty or forty miles from hence, where it is first melted in the oven, and then carried to this place. The bellows were made of leather, and both they and the hammers, and even the hearth, [were] but small in proportion to ours. All the machines were worked by water. The iron was wrought into bars." The "oven" here referred to was a blast furnace, which was probably located in the Schuylkill valley, the pigs for the forge being boated from it down the Schuylkill and Delaware and up Crum creek. Acrelius says that the forge was owned at the time of his visit by Peter Dicks, had two stacks, was worked sluggishly, and had "ruined Crosby's family."

As early as 1742 John Taylor built a forge on Chester creek, in Thornbury township, Delaware county, where Glen Mills now stand, which he called Sarum iron works. In 1746 he added a rolling and slitting mill. These works are said to have been carried on with energy by Mr. Taylor until his death in 1756. Acrelius, writing about the time of Mr. Taylor's death, says: "Sarum belongs to Taylor's heirs; has three stacks, and is in full blast." Peter Kalm states that at Chichester (Marcus Hook) "they build here every year a number of small ships for sale, and from an iron work which lies higher up in the country they carry iron bars to this place and ship them." This "iron work" was certainly Sarum. Taylor was the descendant of an English settler in the province. His rolling and slitting mill was the first in Pennsylvania.

In 1750 there was a "plating forge with a tilt-hammer" in Byberry township, in the northeastern part of Philadelphia county, the only one in the province, owned by John Hall, but not in use in that year. In the same year there were two steel furnaces in Philadelphia, one of which, Stephen Paschall's, was built in 1747, and stood on a lot on the northwest corner of Eighth and Walnut streets; the other was owned by William Branson, and was located near where Thomas Penn "first lived at the upper end of Chestnut street." These furnaces were for the production of blister steel. There appear to have been no other steel furnaces in the province in 1750. Whitehead Humphreys was in 1770 the proprietor of a steel furnace on Seventh street, between Market and Chestnut, in Philadelphia, where he also made edge tools. In February, 1775, Uriah Woolman and B. Shoemaker, "in Market street, Philadelphia," advertised in Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet* "Pennsylvania steel manufactured by W. Humphreys, of an excellent quality, and warranted equal to English, to be sold in blister, faggot, or flat bar, suitable for carriage springs."

Returning to the Schuylkill valley, we find in 1751 a forge called Mount Joy at the mouth of East Valley creek, on the Chester county side of the creek, the one-third of which was advertised for sale on the 4th of April of that year by Daniel Walker, and the remaining two-thirds on the 26th of September of the same year by Stephen Evans and Joseph Williams. In Daniel Walker's advertisement it was stated that the forge was "not so far distant from three furnaces." Pennypacker, in his *Annals of Phœnixville and its Vicinity*, says that "the ancestor of the Walker family" had come from England with William Penn, and "at a very early date had erected the small forge on the Valley creek." It is clear, however, that in 1751 Daniel Walker owned only the one-third of the forge, Evans and Williams owning the remainder. In 1757, as we learn from Mrs. James, the forge was sold to John Potts by the executors of Stephen Evans. In 1773 it was owned by Joseph Potts, at which time it continued to be legally designated as Mount Joy forge, although for some time previously it had been popularly known as Valley forge. In that year Joseph Potts sold the half of the forge to Colonel William Dewees. The pig iron used at Valley forge was hauled from Warwick furnace. In September, 1777, the forge was burned by the British, and in December of the same year the American army under Washington was intrenched on the Montgomery county side of Valley creek, opposite Valley forge. General Washington's headquarters were established at the substantial stone house of Isaac Potts, also on the Montgomery county side of Valley creek. This house is still standing. Isaac Potts was not, however, at this time an owner of Valley forge. After the close of the Revolutionary war Isaac and David Potts, brothers, erected another forge on the Montgomery county side of Valley creek and about three-eighths of a mile below the old Mount Joy forge. A new dam was built, which raised the water partly over the site of the old forge. About the same time, and as early as 1786, a slitting mill was built on the Chester county side of the stream by the same persons. The new forge was called Valley forge. It was in ruins in 1816. About 1824 all the iron works at the town of Valley Forge were discontinued. Mrs. James says that "nothing now remains but an immortal name."

Charming forge, on Tulpehocken creek, two miles from Womelsdorf, in Berks county, was built in 1749, probably by Pennsylvania Germans, as we find that in 1754 it was styled *Tulpehocken Eisen Hammer*. This forge is still in operation. Another early forge in the Schuylkill valley was Amity forge, on the Manatawny or one of its branches. Helmstead, Union, and Pottsgrove were the names of other forges existing in 1750. Mary Ann furnace, in Long Swamp township, Berks county, was in existence as early as 1762, when it was owned by George Ross and George Ege. This furnace was in blast until 1869. Oley furnace, on Manatawny creek, about eleven miles northeast of Reading, was built in 1770, by Daniel Udree, a Pennsylvania German, and is still in operation. In 1780 a forge of the same name was built on the same stream by Mr. Udree. It has been abandoned since 1856. Green Tree forge, near Reading, was built in 1770. On William Scull's map of 1770 Moselem forge, on Maiden creek, Berks county, and Gulf forge, on Gulf creek, in Upper Merion township, Montgomery county, are noted.

William Bird was an enterprising Englishman who established several iron enterprises in Berks county before the Revolution. A person of this name was a witness of Thomas Rutter's will, on November 27, 1728, when he appears to have been a resident of Amity township, Berks county. In 1740 or 1741 William Bird built a forge on Hay creek, near its entrance into the Schuylkill, where the town of Birdsboro now stands. In 1759 he built Hopewell furnace, on French creek, in Union township, Berks county, which is still in operation and still using charcoal. In the same year he built New Pine forge, near Hopewell furnace, in the same township. As early as 1760 he built Roxborough furnace in Heidelburg township, Berks county, the name of which was subsequently changed to Berkshire. Dying in 1762, his estate was divided between his six children and his widow. Berkshire furnace fell to a son, Mark Bird, who in 1764 sold it to John Patton and his wife Bridget, who had been the wife of William Bird. In 1789 Bridget Patton, again a widow, sold the furnace to George Ege. Mark Bird built a rolling and slitting mill and a nail factory at Birdsboro about the time of the Revolution. He also built Spring forge in Oley township, and Gibraltar forges in Robeson township. At Trenton, New Jersey, he manufactured wire. He failed in business about 1788.

Elizabeth furnace, near Brickersville, in Lancaster county, on Middle creek, a branch of Conestoga creek, was built about 1750 by John Huber, a Pennsylvania German. It was a small furnace, and did not prove to be profitable. In 1757 Huber sold it to Henry William Stiegel and his partners, who built a new and larger furnace, which was operated until 1775, when, through Stiegel's embarrassments, it passed into the hands of Daniel Benezet, who leased it to Robert Coleman, who subsequently bought it and eventually became the most prominent ironmaster in Pennsylvania at the close of the last century and far into the present century. Bishop states that "some of the first stoves cast in this country were made by Baron Stiegel, relics of which still remain in the old families of Lancaster and Lebanon counties." Rev. Joseph Henry Dubbs, of Lancaster, says that Stiegel's stoves bore the inscription:

Baron Stiegel ist der mann
Der die Ofen machen kann.

That is, "Baron Stiegel is the man who knows how to make stoves." On the furnace erected by Huber the following legend was inscribed:

John Huber, der erste Deutsche man
Der das Eisenwerk vollfuren kann.

Freely translated this inscription reads: "John Huber is the first German who knows how to make iron."

Henry William Stiegel was a man of great enterprise and business capacity, but of a too sanguine temperament; hence his failure where others succeeded. On the 5th of February, 1763, he was associated with Charles and Alexander Stedman as a lessee of Charming forge. In 1772 the forge was leased by him and Paul Zantzinger to George Zantzinger and George Ege. Between 1760 and 1770 he established a glass factory at Manheim, in Lancaster county, called the American flint glass factory, which was in operation as late as 1774. He was a native of Germany, arriving in this country on August 31, 1750, (old style,) in the ship *Nancy* from Rotterdam. He is buried in the Lutheran graveyard in Heidelberg township, Berks county, a few miles from Womelsdorf. In his last days he taught school in this township.

After Elizabeth furnace came into the possession of Robert Coleman he cast shot and shells and cannon for the Continental army, and some of the transactions which occurred between him and the Government in settlement of his accounts for these supplies are very interesting. On November 16, 1782, appears the following entry: "By cash, being the value of 42 German prisoners of war, at £30 each, £1,260;" and on June 14, 1783, the following: "By cash, being the value of 28 German prisoners of war, at £30 each, £840." In a foot note to these credits Robert Coleman certifies "on honour" that the above 70 prisoners were all that were ever secured by him, one of whom being returned is to be deducted when he produces the proper voucher. Rupp, in his history of Lancaster county, mentions that in 1843 he visited one of the Hessian mercenaries who was disposed of in this manner at the close of the war for the sum of £80, for the term of three years, to Captain Jacob Zimmerman of that county.

Elizabeth furnace continued in operation until 1856, when it was abandoned by its owner, Hon. G. Dawson Coleman, the grandson of Robert Coleman, for want of wood.

Among the persons who were employed at Windsor forges under the "English company" was James Old, a forgeman. He was shrewd and energetic. About 1765 he built Pool forge on Conestoga creek, about a mile below

Windsor forges. Early records mention his ownership of Quitapahilla forge, near Lebanon, and of Speedwell forge, on Hammer creek, in Lancaster county. Tradition also associates his name with the ownership of other forges in Chester, Lancaster, and Berks counties. In 1774 he was a lessee of Reading furnace, on French creek. In 1795 he conveyed Pool forge and about 700 acres of land attached to it to his son, Davies Old.

James Old was born in Wales in 1730. He emigrated to Pennsylvania previous to September 7, 1754, when his name for the first time appears in the register of Bangor church, at Churchtown, Lancaster county, as the contributor of £5 toward the erection of the church building. Soon after his settlement at Windsor he married Margaretta Davies, a daughter of Gabriel Davies, of Lancaster county. Gabriel Davies is supposed to have been the owner of the site on which Pool forge was built. James Old died on May 1, 1809, in his 79th year, and is buried in the graveyard of Bangor church. He was one of the most enterprising and successful of early Pennsylvania ironmasters. He had a brother William, also a forgeman, who had been employed at Windsor forges, and who afterwards embarked in the manufacture of bar iron on his own account.

William Old, a son of James Old, married Elizabeth Stiegel, the daughter of Baron Stiegel. She is buried in the same graveyard which holds the remains of her father. Mrs. Henry Morris, of Philadelphia, is her grand-daughter.

Robert Coleman was in his younger days in the service of James Old, and while with him at Reading furnace in 1773 he married his daughter Ann. Soon after his marriage he rented Salford forge, above Norristown, in Montgomery county, where he remained three years. While at this forge he manufactured chain bars, which were designed to span the Delaware river for the defense of Philadelphia against the approach of the British fleet. From Salford forge he went to Elizabeth furnace. He was born near Castle Fin, in Donegal county, and not far from the city of Londonderry, in Ireland, on the 4th of November, 1748. In 1764, when 16 years old, he left Ireland for America. He died at Lancaster in 1825, at which place he is buried.

Cyrus Jacobs married Margaretta, another daughter of James Old, about 1782. At that time he was living at Churchtown, in the employment of James Old as a clerk at Pool forge. He was at Gibraltar forge, in Berks county, in 1787, and at Hopewell forge, in Lancaster county, from 1789 to 1792. Tradition says that he was a lessee of both these forges from James Old. In 1793 he built Spring Grove forge, on Conestoga creek, about three miles west of Pool forge, and in 1799 he purchased Pool forge from Davies Old. Both these forges were active until 1856, after which they were abandoned. The Jacobs family came to Pennsylvania from Wales about 1693, and settled on Perkiomen creek. Cyrus Jacobs was born in 1761, and died in 1830 at Whitehall, near Churchtown.

Cornwall furnace, located within the limits of the now celebrated Cornwall ore hills, on Furnace creek, in Lebanon county, a few miles south of Lebanon, was built in 1742 by Peter Grubb, whose descendants to this day have been prominent Pennsylvania ironmasters. He was the son of John Grubb, a native of Cornwall, in England, who emigrated to this country in the preceding century, landing at Grubb's Landing, on the Delaware, near Wilmington, at which latter place he is buried. There is record evidence that Peter Grubb was already an ironmaster before he built Cornwall furnace, and a tradition in his family says that in 1735 he built a furnace or bloomary, most likely the latter, about five-eighths of a mile from the site of Cornwall furnace. He died intestate about 1754, and his estate, including the Cornwall ore hills, descended to his two sons, Curtis and Peter Grubb—both afterwards colonels in the Revolution.

In 1756, just after the death of Peter Grubb, Acrelius wrote of Cornwall furnace as follows: "Cornwall, or Grubb's iron works, in Lancaster county. The mine is rich and abundant, forty feet deep, commencing two feet under the earth's surface. The ore is somewhat mixed with sulphur and copper. Peter Grubb was its discoverer. Here there is a furnace which makes twenty-four tons of iron a week, and keeps six forges regularly at work—two of his own, two belonging to Germans in the neighborhood, and two in Maryland. The pig iron is carried to the Susquehanna river, thence to Maryland, and finally to England. The bar iron is sold mostly in the country and in the interior towns; the remainder in Philadelphia. It belongs to the heirs of the Grubb estate, but is now rented to Gurrit & Co." The firm was doubtless Garret & Co.

During the Revolution Cornwall furnace cast cannon and shot and shells for the Continental army. It is still in operation, and is the oldest active charcoal furnace in the United States. It has always used charcoal.

In 1785 Robert Coleman purchased a one-sixth interest in Cornwall furnace and the ore hills. After that year, through successive purchases from the Grubbs, he obtained four additional sixths of the Cornwall property. His total purchases of this valuable property remain in the hands of his descendants to-day.

Martic forge, on Pequea creek, near the present village of Colemanville, Lancaster county, was built in 1755, and is still in operation. Early in this century cemented or blister steel was made here. Mr. R. S. Potts, one of the present owners of Martic forge, writes us as follows: "There used to be a small rolling mill near the forge that stopped running some fifty years ago. There was also a charcoal furnace called Martic some six miles east of the forge, but I have been unable to ascertain its history beyond the fact that it was owned and operated by the Martic Forge Company; when that was, however, or how long it was in blast, I cannot learn. The old cinder bank is still visible. During the Revolution round iron was drawn under the hammer at the forge and bored out for musket barrels at a boring mill, in a very retired spot, on a small stream far off from any public road, doubtless with a view to prevent discovery by the enemy. The site is still visible."

In 1769 Martic furnace and forge were advertised for sale by the sheriff, together with 3,400 acres of land and

other property—"all late the property of Thomas Smith, James Wallace, and James Fulton." The furnace was in existence in 1793, but it was not then active.

Hopewell forge, on Hammer creek, in Lancaster county, about ten miles south of Lebanon, was built by Peter Grubb soon after he built Cornwall furnace. Speedwell forge, on the same stream, near Brickersville, in Lancaster county, was built in 1750, also by Peter Grubb.

The iron industry of Pennsylvania crossed the Susquehanna at a very early period. Acrelius says that there was a bloomary in York county in 1756, owned by Peter Dicks, who had but recently discovered "the mine." Spring forge, in the same county, was built in 1770, was still in operation in 1849, and was abandoned about 1850. About the year 1760 a forge was built at Boiling Springs, in Cumberland county, forming the nucleus of the Carlisle iron works, which afterwards included a blast furnace, a rolling and slitting mill, and a steel furnace. The furnace was built soon after 1762 by a company. Michael Ege was the proprietor after 1782. On a tax list at Carlisle Robert Thornburg & Co. appear in 1767 as the owners of a forge to which 1,200 acres of land were attached. We cannot locate this forge. A forge is supposed to have been built at Mount Holly in 1765. Pine Grove furnace, in the same county, was built about 1770 by Thornburg & Arthur. In 1782 Michael Ege became part owner and subsequently sole owner. A forge was attached to this furnace. Both the furnace and forge are still in operation. No other iron works west of the Susquehanna are known to have been established previous to the Revolution. About 1777 William Denning, an artificer of the Revolutionary army, had a forge in active operation at Middlesex, in Cumberland county, at which he manufactured wrought-iron cannon.

Although all of the iron enterprises which were established in Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution have not been mentioned in the preceding pages, those which have been mentioned indicate remarkable activity in the development of the iron resources of the province. Pennsylvania was one of the last of the thirteen colonies to be occupied by permanent English settlements, and even after these settlements were made a long time elapsed before the erection of iron works was successfully undertaken. Very strangely, the business of manufacturing iron was not fairly commenced in Pennsylvania until 1716, but after this time it grew rapidly, and in the sixty years which intervened before the commencement of hostilities with the mother country probably sixty blast furnaces and forges were built—a rate of progress which was not attained by any other colony in the same period. Acrelius said in 1756: "Pennsylvania, in regard to its iron works, is the most advanced of all the American colonies." Many of these enterprises were upon a scale that would have done credit to a much later period of the American iron industry. Cornwall and Warwick furnaces were each 32 feet high, 21½ feet square at the base, and 11 feet square at the top. Warwick was at first 9 feet wide at the boshes, but was afterwards reduced to 7½ feet. The forges were usually those in which pig iron was refined into bar iron "in the Walloon style," as stated by Acrelius. There were few ore bloomaries, and nearly all of these were built at an early day. Acrelius mentions only one of this class—Peter Dicks' bloomary, in York county. The smaller furnaces yielded only from 1½ to 2 tons of pig iron daily, but the larger ones yielded from 3 to 4 tons. The Reading and Warwick furnaces, when in blast, each made from 25 to 30 tons of iron per week. The furnaces were used to produce both pig iron and castings, the latter consisting of stoves, pots, kettles, andirons, and similar articles. Of the product of the forges Acrelius says that "one forge, with three hearths in good condition, and well attended to, is expected to give 2 tons a week." The same author says that "for four months in summer, when the heat is most oppressive, all labor is suspended at the furnaces and forges." The scarcity of water at this season would also have much to do with this suspension, all of the works being operated by water-power. It was not until about the close of the first third of the present century that blowing engines were used to produce the blast at either furnaces or forges in Pennsylvania, or in any other state. At first large leather bellows were used to blow both the furnaces and the forges, but afterwards, about the time of the Revolution, wooden cylinders, or "tubs," were substituted. Reading, Warwick, and Cornwall furnaces—three of the best furnaces of the last century—retained their long leather bellows until a late day. The Cornwall bellows was 20 feet 7 inches long, 5 feet 10 inches across the breech, and 14 inches at the insertion of the nozzle. Only one tuyere was used at the furnaces. The fuel used was exclusively charcoal, and the blast was always cold. About 400 bushels of charcoal were required to produce from the ore a ton of hammered bar iron.

THE MANUFACTURE OF CHARCOAL IRON IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

After the Revolution the business of manufacturing iron received a fresh impulse in the eastern part of Pennsylvania, and was further extended into the interior. Chester, Lancaster, and Berks counties shared conspicuously in the development at this period of the leading manufacturing industry of the state. Many blast furnaces and forges and a few rolling and slitting mills were built in these counties before 1800, and after the beginning of the present century this activity was continued. A few of the more important enterprises in each of these counties and in other eastern counties may be mentioned.

In 1790 Benjamin Longstreth erected a rolling and slitting mill at Phœnixville, where the foundry now stands, to roll bars into plates to be slit into nail rods. This was the beginning of the present extensive works of the Phœnix Iron Company.

Federal slitting mill, on Buck run, about four miles south of Coatesville, in East Fallowfield township, Chester county, was built in 1795 by Isaac Pennock. The name of this mill was afterwards changed to Rokeby rolling mill. It was used to roll sheet iron and nail plates and to slit the latter into nail rods. It continued in operation until 1864, when it was burned down and abandoned. During the latter part of its history it rolled boiler plates. A paper mill now occupies its site. About 1810 Mr. Pennock built the Brandywine rolling mill at Coatesville, which was afterwards operated for him by Dr. Charles Lukens, who had been employed at the Federal slitting mill. At this mill it is claimed that the first boiler plates in the United States were rolled by Dr. Lukens in 1816. The puddling mill of the Lukens rolling mill at Coatesville occupies to-day the site of the Brandywine mill. Upon the death, in 1825, of Dr. Lukens, who had become the owner of the Brandywine mill, the management of the mill devolved upon his wife, by whom the business was greatly extended and profitably conducted for twenty years. As a tribute to her memory the name of the works was, after her death, changed to Lukens rolling mill.

Mount Hope furnace, located on the Big Chiquisalunga creek, in Lancaster county, about ten miles south of Lebanon, was built in 1785 by Peter Grubb, Jr., and is still operated by members of the Grubb family. Colebrook furnace, on the Conewago, in Lebanon county, seven miles southwest of Cornwall furnace, was built by Robert Coleman in 1791 and abandoned about 1860. Mount Vernon furnace, on the same stream, about twenty-three miles west of Lancaster, and in Lancaster county, was built in 1808 by Henry Bates Grubb. A second furnace of the same name was built near the first in 1831. Both have been abandoned. Conowingo furnace, on the creek of the same name, and about sixteen miles southeast of Lancaster, was built in 1809. About 1840 steam-power for driving the blast was successfully introduced by its owner, James M. Hopkins, the boilers being placed at the tunnel-head. Soon after the introduction of steam at Conowingo furnace it was successfully applied to Cornwall furnace by the manager, Samuel M. Reynolds.

In 1786 there were seventeen furnaces, forges, and slitting mills within thirty-nine miles of Lancaster. In 1838 there were 102 furnaces, forges, and rolling mills within a radius of fifty-two miles of Lancaster. At this time Lancaster was the great iron center of eastern Pennsylvania.

In 1805 there were seven forges and one slitting mill in Delaware county. Franklin rolling mill, at Chester, in Delaware county, was built in 1808. In 1828 there were in this county five rolling and slitting mills and some manufactories of finished iron products.

The Cheltenham rolling mill, on Tacony creek, in Montgomery county, one mile below Shoemakertown, was built in 1790. In 1856 it was owned and operated by Rowland & Hunt; it has since been abandoned.

Joanna furnace, on Hay creek, in Berks county, was built as early as March, 1793. It is still in operation, and still uses charcoal. A neighboring furnace called Rebecca was situated in Chester county, and was in existence in 1793. Reading furnace, two miles east of Womelsdorf, in Berks county, was built in 1793 by George Ege, on the site now occupied by the Robesonia furnaces. It was a near neighbor of Berkshire furnace. Sally Ann furnace, in Rockland township, about five miles south of Kutztown, was built in 1791. After having been idle for many years it was refitted in 1879 and is now in operation under the name of Rockland furnace. In 1798 there were six furnaces and six forges in Berks county. In 1832 there were eleven furnaces and twenty-one forges.

The first iron enterprises in the Lehigh valley are said to have been established in the last century, in Carbon county. These were Maria forge and furnace, on Pocopoco creek, near Weissport. The forge is said to have been built in 1753. It was abandoned in 1858, and the furnace in 1861. Several charcoal iron enterprises were established in this valley during the early part of the present century, including a few bloomaries. All of the forges and bloomaries in the Lehigh valley have been abandoned. Nearly all of the bloomaries were supplied with ore from northern New Jersey. Of the charcoal furnaces only one is now in operation which uses charcoal—East Penn, formerly Pennsville, in Carbon county, built in 1837. In 1836 a rolling mill and wire factory were built at South Easton, in Northampton county, by Stewart & Co. This was probably the first rolling mill in the valley.

In 1805 there were two forges in York county, one of which was Spring forge, which stood on Codorus creek. Castle Fin forge, formerly called Palmyra forge, on Muddy creek, in York county, was built in 1810, by a person named Withers, and rebuilt in 1827 by Thomas Burd Coleman, who also erected a steel furnace about 1832. Both have been abandoned. In its day Castle Fin forge was a very prominent enterprise. In 1850 there were five furnaces and three forges in this county. Since then its iron industry has sensibly declined.

Chestnut Grove furnace, at Whitestown, in Adams county, was built in 1830, and is still active. About 1830 Maria furnace was built in Hamiltonban township, in this county, by Stevens & Paxton (Thaddeus Stevens), but was abandoned about 1837.

The first furnace in Franklin county was Mount Pleasant, in Path valley, five miles northwest of Loudon, which was erected soon after the peace of 1783 by three brothers, William, Benjamin, and George Chambers. A forge was also erected by them as early as 1783. This furnace and forge were destroyed in 1843. A furnace called Richmond, built in 1865, now occupies the site of Mount Pleasant furnace. Soundwell forge, at Roxbury, sixteen miles north of Chambersburg, on Conodoguinet creek, was built in 1798, by Leephar, Crotzer & Co., and was active until 1857. Roxbury furnace, at or near the same place, was built in 1815 by Samuel Cole, and is now abandoned. In the old "pack-horse" days there was an active iron trade carried on at Roxbury. Carrick forge, four miles from Fannettsburg, in Franklin county, was built in 1800, and was in operation in 1856. A furnace of the same name

was built in 1828 by General Samuel Dunn, which is still active. Loudon forge and furnace were built about 1790 by Colonel James Chambers, and destroyed about 1840. Valley forge, near Loudon, in Franklin county, was built in 1804, and abandoned after 1856. Other old forges in Franklin county were abandoned before 1850. Mont Alto furnace, in the same county, was built in 1807 by Daniel and Samuel Hughes, and is still active. Two forges of the same name, which are yet in operation, were built in 1809 and 1810 about four miles from the furnace. A foundry was built in 1815, a rolling mill in 1832, and a nail factory in 1835. About 1850 the nail factory was burned down, and soon after 1857 the mill was abandoned.

Caledonia forge, in Franklin county, on Conococheague creek, ten miles southeast of Chambersburg, was built in 1830 by Stevens & Paxton. Caledonia furnace, at the same place, was built in 1837 by the same firm, after the abandonment of Maria furnace, in Adams county. For many years previous to 1863 this furnace and forge were owned by Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, in which year they were burned by the Confederates, under General Lee, when on the march to Gettysburg. Franklin furnace, in St. Thomas township, was built by Peter and George Housum in 1828, and is still running on charcoal. There were a few other charcoal furnaces in this county which have left scarcely their names by which to be remembered. Early in the present century nails and edge tools were made in large quantities at several establishments at Chambersburg and in its vicinity. One of these, the Conococheague rolling mill and nail factory, was established by Brown & Watson in 1814.

Liberty forge, at Lisburn, on Yellow Breeches creek, in Cumberland county, was built in 1790, and is still active. An older forge, long abandoned, is said to have been built at Lisburn in 1783. A few other forges in Cumberland county were built prior to 1800. Cumberland furnace, ten miles southwest of Carlisle, on Yellow Breeches creek, is said to have been built in 1794 by Michael Ege. It blew out permanently in December, 1854. Holly furnace, at Papertown, in the same county, is said to have been built about 1785 by Stephen Foulk and William Cox, Jr. A forge was in existence here in 1848. Holly furnace was torn down in 1855 to give place to a paper mill. It was once owned by Michael Ege. Two furnaces, now abandoned, once stood near Shippensburg in this county—Augusta, built in 1824, and Mary Ann, built in 1826. Big Pond furnace, built in 1836, between Augusta and Mary Ann furnaces, was burned down in 1880. Jacob M. Haldeman removed from Lancaster county to New Cumberland, at the mouth of Yellow Breeches creek, on the Susquehanna, about 1806. He purchased a forge at this place and added a rolling and slitting mill, which were operated until about 1826, when they were allowed to decay. Fairview rolling mill, about a mile from the mouth of Conodoguinet creek, in Cumberland county, and two miles above Harrisburg, was built in 1833 by Gabriel Heister and Norman Callender, of Harrisburg, to roll bar iron. Jared Pratt, of Massachusetts, leased the mill in 1836, and added a nail factory.

Michael Ege was for nearly fifty years a prominent ironmaster of Cumberland county, owning, a short time before his death, Pine Grove furnace, the Carlisle iron works, Holly furnace, and Cumberland furnace. He and his brother George Ege, already mentioned, were natives of Holland. He died on August 31, 1815.

In 1840 there were 8 furnaces and 11 forges, bloomaries, and rolling mills in Franklin county, and 6 furnaces and 5 forges and rolling mills in Cumberland county.

Schuylkill county has had several forges, mainly at or near Port Clinton, the first of which at that place appears to have been built in 1801. Between 1800 and 1804 a small charcoal furnace was built by Reese & Thomas at Pottsville. In 1807 Greenwood furnace and forge were erected at Pottsville by John Pott, the founder of the town, which was laid out in 1816. In 1832 there were in operation in Schuylkill county Greenwood furnace and forge, and Schuylkill, Brunswick, Pine Grove, Mahanoy, and Swatara forges. A furnace called Swatara, six miles from Pine Grove, was built in 1830, which was followed by Stanhope furnace, still nearer to Pine Grove, in 1835. All of these were charcoal enterprises.

In 1785 Henry Fulton established a "nailery" in Dauphin county, probably at Harrisburg. It is said to have been "only a little remote from a smithy." In 1805 there were two furnaces and two forges in the county. Oakdale forge, at Elizabethville, appears to have been built in 1830. Victoria furnace, on Clark's creek, was built in that year. In 1832 there were three forges and two furnaces in the county. Emeline furnace, at Dauphin, was built about 1835. The first furnace at Middletown, in this county, was built in 1833, and a second furnace was built in 1849—both cold-blast charcoal furnaces. Manada furnace, at West Hanover, was built in 1837 by E. B. & C. B. Grubb. The first rolling mill in the county was the old Harrisburg mill, at Harrisburg, built in 1836. The first anthracite furnace in the county was built at Harrisburg, in 1845, by Governor David R. Porter. Hon. Simon Cameron has been prominently identified with the iron interests of this county.

A furnace and forge, probably Paxinas, were in operation in Shamokin township, Northumberland county, as early as 1830. Berlin furnace and forge were built near Hartleytown, in Union county, in 1827. Forest furnace, near Milton, in Northumberland county, was built in 1846, and Beaver furnace, near Middleburg, in Snyder county, in 1848—both charcoal furnaces.

Esther furnace, about three miles south of Catawissa, on East Roaring creek, in Columbia county, was built in 1802 by Michael Bitter & Son, who cast many stoves. In 1836 the furnace was rebuilt by Trago & Thomas. Catawissa furnace, near Mainville, in Columbia county, was built in 1815, and a forge was built in 1824, near the same place. In 1832 there were two furnaces and two forges in Catawissa township. In 1837 Briar Creek furnace,

two miles from Berwick, in Columbia county, was built. In 1845 Fincher & Thomas built Penn charcoal furnace, on Catawissa creek, one mile east of Catawissa. All of these furnaces have been abandoned, but the forge at Mainville is still active.

A charcoal furnace called Liberty was built at Mooresburg, in Montour county, in 1838. A furnace at Danville, in Montour county, was built in 1838 to use charcoal, but was altered in the following year to use anthracite. Danville rolling mill was built in 1845, Montour in 1845, and Rough-and-Ready in 1847—all at Danville.

About 1778 a bloomary forge was built on Nanticoke creek, near the lower end of Wyoming valley, in Luzerne county, by John and Mason F. Alden. Another bloomary forge was erected in 1789 on Lackawanna river, about two miles above its mouth, by Dr. William Hooker Smith and James Sutton. Still another bloomary forge was erected in 1799 or 1800, on Roaring brook, at Scranton, then called Slocum's Hollow, by two brothers, Ebenezer and Benjamin Slocum. The product of these bloomaries was taken down the Susquehanna river in Durham boats. They all continued in operation until about 1828. Nescopeck forge, in Luzerne county, was built in 1824, and abandoned about 1854. Shickshinny charcoal furnace was built in 1846, and abandoned about 1860. In 1811 Francis McShane established a small cut-nail factory at Wilkesbarre, "and used anthracite coal in smelting the iron." Wyoming rolling mill, at Wilkesbarre, was built in 1842, and abandoned about 1850. It was followed by Lackawanna, at Scranton, in 1844. Lackawanna county owes its present prominence in the iron industry to the courage, energy, and business sagacity of two brothers, George W. and Selden T. Scranton, and their cousin, Joseph H. Scranton, the two brothers commencing operations in 1840 at Scranton, and their cousin joining them soon afterwards.

A furnace was built in Lycoming county in 1820, four miles from Jersey Shore, and named Pine creek. In 1832 it was owned by Kirk, Kelton & Co. A forge was added at the same place in 1831. Heshbon forge, furnace, and rolling mill, on Lycoming creek, five miles above its mouth, were built, respectively, in 1828, 1838, and 1842. Hepburn forge, on the same creek, twelve miles north of Williamsport, was built in 1830, and Crescent rolling mill, one mile lower down the stream, was built in 1842. About 1835 Astonville furnace, near Ralston, was built to use coke, but charcoal was soon substituted. At Ralston a charcoal furnace, rolling mill, nail factory, etc., were erected by the Lycoming Valley Iron Company in 1837.

Washington furnace, on Fishing creek, at Lamar, in Clinton county, was built in 1811. It was last in blast in 1875. A forge was added in 1837, and it also is silent. A furnace at Farrandsville, near the mouth of Lick run, in this county, which was built about 1836, to use coke, is said to have sunk, in connection with a nail mill, foundry, and other enterprises, over half a million dollars, contributed by Boston capitalists. Mill Hall, Sugar Valley, and Lamar are the names of other charcoal furnaces in the same county. Of the enterprises above named, Washington furnace and forge and Mill Hall furnace are the only ones that have not been abandoned.

In 1814 Peter Karthaus, a native of Hamburg, in Germany, but afterwards a merchant of Baltimore, and Rev. Frederick W. Geissenhainer, a native of Muhlberg, in Germany, established a furnace at the mouth of the Little Moshannon, or Mosquito creek, in the lower end of Clearfield county. The firm of Karthaus & Geissenhainer was dissolved on the 18th day of December, 1818. It had been organized in 1811, partly to mine and ship to eastern markets the bituminous coal of Clearfield county. The furnace was operated with partial success for several years.

A furnace was built about 1840 at Blossburg, in Tioga county, to use charcoal, but in 1841 it was altered by J. G. Boyd and another person to use coke. It soon chilled, however, and was abandoned.

THE MANUFACTURE OF CHARCOAL IRON IN THE JUNIATA VALLEY.

As early as 1767 a company called The Juniata Iron Company was organized, apparently by capitalists of eastern Pennsylvania, to search for iron ore in the Juniata valley, and probably with the ulterior object of manufacturing iron. It was in existence from 1767 to 1771, during which period its agent, Benjamin Jacobs, made for it some surveys and explorations and dug a few tons of iron ore, but where these operations were conducted and who were the members of this pioneer company some future antiquarian must discover.

The first iron enterprise in the Juniata valley was Bedford furnace, built in 1785, on Black Log creek, below its junction with Shade creek at Orbisonia, in Huntingdon county, by the Bedford Company, composed of Edward Ridgley, Thomas Cromwell, and George Ashman. It made from eight to ten tons of pig iron weekly. It was constructed in part of wood, and was five feet wide at the bosh, and either fifteen or seventeen feet high. A forge was built on the Little Aughwick creek by the same company, a short distance from the furnace, about 1785, which made horseshoe iron, wagon tire, harrow teeth, etc. Large stoves and other utensils were cast at the furnace. At the Philadelphia Exhibition was a stove-plate cast at this furnace in 1792. Bar iron made at Bedford forge was bent into the shape of the letter U, turned over the backs of horses, and in this manner taken by bridle-paths to Pittsburgh. Bar iron and castings from Bedford furnace and later iron works in the Juniata valley were also taken down the Juniata river in arks, many of them descending to as low a point as Middletown on the Susquehanna, whence the iron was hauled to Philadelphia, or sent to Baltimore in arks down the Susquehanna river. The furnace and forge have long been abandoned.

Three other charcoal furnaces have been built at or near the site of Bedford furnace during the present century. One of these was Rockhill, on Black Log creek, three-quarters of a mile southeast of Orbisonia, built in 1830. It was in operation in 1872, but in 1873 it gave place to the two new coke furnaces of the Rockhill Iron and Coal Company.

Centre furnace, on Spring creek, in Centre county, was the second furnace in the Juniata valley. It was built in the summer of 1792 by Colonel John Patton and Colonel Samuel Miles, both Revolutionary officers. The latter afterwards founded the iron works at Milesburg, in this county. The first forge in Centre county was Rock forge, on Spring creek, built in 1793 by General Philip Benner, of Chester county, who subsequently became an extensive manufacturer of Juniata iron. He died in 1832, aged 70 years, long before which time his Rock forge enterprise had expanded into a rolling and slitting mill, nail factory, blast furnace, etc. The furnace was built in 1816. General Benner had made iron at Nutt's forge at Coventry after the Revolution. In 1795 Daniel Turner built Spring creek forge, and in 1796 Miles, Dunlop & Co. built Harmony forge, on Spring creek. Logan furnace, near Bellefonte, was built in 1800 by John Dunlop, who afterwards originated other iron enterprises in Centre county, including a forge at Bellefonte. Tussey furnace, in Ferguson township, fourteen miles south of Bellefonte, was built about 1805 by General William Patton. In 1807 Roland Curtin, a native of Ireland, and father of Governor Andrew G. Curtin, in company with Moses Boggs erected Eagle forge on Bald Eagle creek, about five miles from Bellefonte, Boggs remaining a partner only a short time. Pig iron for this forge was obtained from Tussey furnace. In 1817 Mr. Curtin built a furnace called Eagle near his forge. In 1828 a small rolling mill was added, for the manufacture of bar iron and nails. About 1832 he built Martha furnace, on Bald Eagle creek, about eleven miles west of Bellefonte. He died in 1850, aged 84 years. About 1820 Hardman Philips, an enterprising Englishman, erected at Philipsburg a forge, foundry, and screw factory—the last named being one of the first of its kind in this country. Cold Stream forge was erected about 1832 by John Plumbe, Sr., in Rush township, Centre county. Hecla furnace, near Hublersburg, was built in 1820. Hannah furnace, about ten miles northeast of Tyrone, was built in 1828. Julian furnace, on Bald Eagle creek, was built in 1835. A rolling mill was built by Valentines & Thomas, near Bellefonte, in 1824. Abram S. Valentine, of this firm, was the inventor of an ore-washing machine.

Barree forge, on the Juniata, in Huntingdon county, was built about 1794 by Edward Bartholomew, of Philadelphia, and his son-in-law, Greenberry Dorsey, of Baltimore, to convert the pig iron of Centre furnace into bar iron. Huntingdon furnace, in Franklin township, was built in 1796, four miles from the mouth of Spruce creek, on Warrior's Mark run, but after one or two blasts a new stack was built a mile lower down the stream. The furnace was built for Mordecai Massey and Judge John Gloninger by George Anshutz, who in 1808 became the owner of one-fourth of the property. At the same time George Shoenberger purchased a one-fourth interest. Prior to 1808 Martin Dubbs had become part owner. A forge called Massey, on Spruce creek, was connected with Huntingdon furnace, and was built about 1800. The furnace has been silent since 1870. Tyrone forges, on the Juniata, were built by the owners of Huntingdon furnace, the first of the forges in 1804. In 1832 Gordon, in his *Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania*, stated that these forges, with a rolling and slitting mill and nail factory attached, formed "a very extensive establishment," owned by Messrs. Gloninger, Anshutz & Co. "The mill rolls about 150 tons, 75 of which are cut into nails at the works, 50 tons are slit into rods and sent to the West, and about 25 tons are sold in the adjoining counties."

Juniata forge was built at Petersburg about 1804 by Samuel Fahnestock and George Shoenberger, the latter becoming sole owner in 1805. Coleraine forges, on Spruce creek, were built in 1805 and 1809, by Samuel Marshall, an Irishman. There have been many forges on Spruce creek, none of which are now in operation. Union furnace, in Morris township, Huntingdon county, was built by Edward B. Dorsey and Caleb Evans in 1810 or 1811. Pennsylvania furnace, on the line dividing Huntingdon from Centre county, was built by John Lyon, Jacob Haldeman, and William Wallace in 1813. It is now in operation, using coke. About 1818 Reuben Trexler, of Berks county, built a bloomary called Mary Ann, in Trough Creek valley, and about 1821 he added Paradise furnace. In 1832 John Savage, of Philadelphia, built a forge near Paradise furnace, which is said to have been the first forge in this country "that used the big hammer and iron helve on the English plan."

George Shoenberger was born in Lancaster county, and during the closing years of the last century settled on Shaver's creek, in Huntingdon county, as did also his brother Peter. The town of Petersburg was laid out in 1795 by Peter Shoenberger. On September 27, 1800, Peter sold to his brother George the Petersburg tract of land. George Shoenberger died in 1814 or 1815. His only son, Dr. Peter Shoenberger, succeeded him in the ownership of his iron enterprises.

Etna furnace and forge, on the Juniata, in Catharine township, Blair county, were built in 1805 by Canan, Stewart & Moore. John Canan was an Irishman, from Donegal. The furnace was the first in Blair county. Cove forge, on the Frankstown branch of the Juniata, in Blair county, two miles northeast of Williamsburg, was built between 1808 and 1810 by John Royer, who was born in Franklin county in 1779 and died at Johnstown in 1850. Allegheny furnace was built in 1811 by Allison & Henderson, and was the second furnace in Blair county. In 1835 it was purchased by Elias Baker and Roland Diller, both of Lancaster county. The next furnace in Blair county was Springfield, built in 1815 by John Royer and his brother Daniel. Springfield furnace and Cove forge are now-

owned by John Royer, born in 1799, son of Daniel. The next furnace in this county was Rebecca, built in 1817. It was the first furnace erected by Dr. Peter Shoenberger, who afterwards became the most prominent ironmaster in the state. His other iron enterprises in the Juniata valley and elsewhere were numerous and extensive, and their beginning followed closely upon the building of Rebecca furnace. The Doctor was born at Manheim, Lancaster county, in 1781; died at Marietta, Lancaster county, on June 18, 1854, aged 73 years; and was buried at Laurel Hill cemetery, Philadelphia.

Elizabeth furnace, near Antestown, in Blair county, is said to have been the first in the country to use gas from the tunnel-head for the production of steam. The furnace was built in 1832, and the gas was first used in 1836. The improvement was patented about 1840 by the owner of the furnace, Martin Bell.

A furnace and forge were built at Hopewell, in Bedford county, about the year 1800, by William Lane, of Lancaster county. On Yellow creek, two miles from Hopewell, Mr. Lane built Lemnos forge and slitting mill in 1806. In 1841 Loy & Patterson built Lemnos furnace, on the same creek, two miles west of Hopewell, to use charcoal. The furnace is now abandoned. Bedford forge, also on Yellow creek, was built by Swope & King in 1812. Elizabeth furnace, now Bloomfield, was built at Woodbury, in Bedford county, in 1827, by King, Swope & Co., Dr. Shoenberger being a partner. In 1845 the furnace was removed to Bloomfield, in Bedford county. In 1840 Bedford county, which then embraced Fulton county and a part of Blair county, contained nine furnaces and two forges. Hanover furnace and forge, nine miles below McConnellsburg, in Fulton county, known as the Hanover iron works, were regarded in their day as an extensive enterprise. The forge was built in 1822 by John Doyle, and the furnace in 1827 by John Irvine. Both were abandoned about 1850. There are now no iron enterprises in Fulton county.

Cemented or blister steel was made at Caledonia, near Bedford, for several years before the beginning of this century by William McDermett, who was born near Glasgow, Scotland, and emigrated to this country at the close of the Revolutionary war. Mr. McDermett's works continued in successful operation for about ten years, when financial reverses caused their abandonment. A few years later he removed to Spruce creek, in Huntingdon county, and there ended his days about 1819. Josephine, one of his daughters, married, in 1820, David R. Porter, then a young ironmaster on Spruce creek, but afterwards governor of Pennsylvania. About 1818 David R. Porter and Edward B. Patton built Sligo forge, on Spruce creek. After Mr. McDermett's removal to Spruce creek a forge and steel works, called Claubaugh, were built on the creek by his nephew, Thomas McDermett, at which steel was made by the process that had been in use at Caledonia. These works became the property of Lloyd, Steel & Co. about 1819, by whom they were operated for a few years, when they were abandoned.

There was a very early forge in Juniata county. It was built in 1791 by Thomas Beale and William Sterrett on Licking creek, two miles west of Mifflintown. It had two hammers and was in operation about four years. The pig iron for this forge was mainly obtained from Centre furnace, but some was brought from Cornwall furnace and some from Bedford furnace.

Hope furnace, a few miles from Lewistown, and Freedom forge, three miles from the same place, were built in 1810, and were probably the first iron enterprises within the present limits of Mifflin county. General James Lewis was one of the proprietors of Hope furnace. In 1832 there were three furnaces and one forge in Mifflin county, and in 1850 there were five furnaces and two forges.

The first iron enterprise in Perry county was probably a forge on Cocalamus creek, built in 1807 or 1808 by General Lewis, and operated by him in connection with Hope furnace. It was abandoned about 1817. It had two fires and two hammers, and was called Mount Vernon. Juniata furnace, three miles from Newport, was built in 1808 by David Watts, Esq., an eminent lawyer of Carlisle. In 1832 it was owned by Captain William Power. A forge called Fio was built on Sherman's creek, about four miles from Duncannon, in Perry county, in 1829, by Lindley & Speek. A forge was also built at Duncannon in the same year by Stephen Duncan and John D. Mahon. Duncannon rolling mill was built in 1838 by Fisher, Morgan & Co. Montebello furnace, at Duncannon, was built in 1834; Perry furnace, four miles from Bloomfield, in 1840; Oak Grove, four miles from Landisburg, by Dr. Adam Hayes and his brother John, in 1830; and Caroline, at Bailysburg, in 1833. All of the charcoal furnaces of Perry county have been abandoned.

Many other charcoal furnaces and forges and a few rolling mills were built in the upper part of the Juniata valley before 1850. In 1832 there were in operation in Huntingdon county, which then embraced Blair county, eight furnaces, ten forges, and one rolling and slitting mill. Each of the furnaces yielded from 1,200 to 1,600 tons of iron annually. In the same year an incomplete list enumerated eight furnaces and as many forges in Centre county. In 1850 there were in Huntingdon and Centre counties and in Blair county (formed out of Huntingdon and Bedford in 1846) and in Mifflin county forty-eight furnaces, forty-two forges, and eight rolling mills, nearly all of which were in Huntingdon and Centre. Most of these charcoal furnaces and forges and rolling mills have been abandoned.

Among the persons who have been prominent in the iron manufacture in the Juniata valley special reference may be made, in addition to those who have been mentioned, to Henry S. Spang, of Montgomery county, John Lyon, of Cumberland county, and Anthony Shorb, of Lebanon county.

Most of the iron made in the Juniata valley during the palmy days of its iron industry was sold at Pittsburgh.

Before the completion of the state canal and railroads it was transported with great difficulty. Bar iron from Centre county was at first carried on the backs of horses to the Clarion river, where it was loaded on boats, upon which it was floated to Pittsburgh. Pig iron from Huntingdon county was hauled to Johnstown, and thence floated to Pittsburgh in the same manner as the bar iron from Centre county.

THE MANUFACTURE OF CHARCOAL IRON IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

The first iron manufactured west of the Allegheny mountains is said to have been made in 1790, in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, "in a smith's fire," by John Hayden, of Haydenville, in that county. Taking a sample on horseback to Philadelphia, he enlisted his relative, John Nicholson, of that city, then state comptroller, in a scheme for building Fairfield furnace, on George's creek, seven miles south of Uniontown, and the two "then went on to build the furnace," which they completed in 1792. A forge was built about the same time, and probably before the furnace. In the mean time William Turnbull and Peter Marmie, of Philadelphia, built a furnace and forge on Jacob's creek, a mile or two above its entrance into the Youghiogheny river. The furnace was first blown in on November 1, 1790, and the iron was tried the same day in the forge. The furnace and forge were on the Fayette county side of the creek, and were called the Alliance iron works. The furnace was successfully operated for many years, and the stack is still standing, but in ruins. An extract from a letter written by Major Craig, deputy quartermaster-general and military storekeeper at Fort Pitt, to General Knox, dated January 12, 1792, says: "As there is no six-pound shot here, I have taken the liberty to engage four hundred at Turnbull & Marmie's furnace, which is now in blast." The firm was dissolved August 22, 1793, Peter Marmie becoming sole owner of the works.

John and Andrew Oliphant bought a half interest in Fairfield furnace in 1795, and in a few years they became its sole owners. Fairchance furnace, on George's creek, six miles south of Uniontown, was built in 1794 by John Hayden, William Squire, and Thomas Wynn. J. & A. Oliphant bought it about 1805. It was rebuilt two or three times, and kept in operation until 1873. A forge was built near the furnace about 1794. The Oliphants built Sylvan forges, on George's creek, below Fairfield and Fairchance furnaces, to convert their pig-iron product into bar iron.

Union furnace, now Dunbar furnace, was built by Colonel Isaac Meason on Dunbar creek, four miles south of Connellsville, in 1791, and was put in blast in March, 1791. A forge was connected with this furnace. It was succeeded in 1793 by a larger furnace of the same name, built near the same site by Colonel Meason, John Gibson, and Moses Dillon. Another of Colonel Meason's enterprises was Mount Vernon furnace, on Mountz's creek, eight miles east of its mouth, built before July, 1800. In 1801 it was rebuilt. It is still standing, but abandoned.

In 1805 there were five furnaces and six forges in Fayette county. In 1811 there were ten blast furnaces, one air furnace, eight forges, three rolling and slitting mills, one steel furnace, and five trip-hammers. At a subsequent date there were twenty furnaces in this county. Fayette county was a great iron center at the close of the last and far into the present century. For many years Pittsburgh and the Ohio and Mississippi valleys were almost entirely supplied by it with castings of all kinds, and with pig and bar iron. Long before 1850, however, the fires in most of its furnaces and forges were suffered to die out. In 1849 only four of its furnaces were in blast. Other furnaces, to use coke, have since been built within its boundaries, but its fame as a center of iron production has departed. In its stead it now enjoys the reputation of being the center of production of the far-famed Connellsville coke.

The steel furnace above referred to was at Bridgeport, adjoining Brownsville, was owned by Morris Truman & Co., and made good steel. In that year Truman & Co. advertised that they had for sale "several tons of steel of their own converting, which they will sell at the factory for cash, at 12 dollars per cwt., and 20 dollars per faggot for Crowley." The first nail factory west of the Alleghenies was built at Brownsville, before 1800, by Jacob Bowman, at which wrought nails, made by hand, were produced in large quantities.

The rolling and slitting mills which were in existence in Pennsylvania prior to 1816 neither puddled pig iron nor rolled bar iron, but rolled only sheet iron and nail plates with plain rolls from blooms heated in a hollow fire and hammered under a tilt-hammer. Cramer's *Pittsburgh Almanac* for 1812 says that in 1811 there were three such mills in Fayette county.

The first rolling mill erected in the United States to puddle iron and roll iron bars was built by Colonel Isaac Meason in 1816 and 1817, on Redstone creek, about midway between Connellsville and Brownsville, at a place called Plumsock, in Fayette county. Colonel Meason had previously erected forges at Plumsock. Thomas C. Lewis was the chief engineer in the erection of the mill, and George Lewis, his brother, was the turner and roller. They were Welshmen. The project was conceived by Thomas C. Lewis, and by him presented to Colonel Meason. F. H. Oliphant told us in his lifetime that it was built "for making bars of all sizes and hoops for cutting into nails." He said further that "the iron was refined by blast, and then puddled." Samuel C. Lewis, the son of Thomas C. Lewis, assisted as a boy in rolling the first bar of iron. He is still living at Pittsburgh, at the age of 80 years. Mr. Lewis informs us that his father and uncle, being skilled workmen, and therefore prohibited by an English statute from leaving their native land, were compelled to resort to artifice to secure their passage across the Atlantic. The mill contained two puddling furnaces, one refinery, one heating furnace, and one tilt-hammer. Raw coal was used

in the puddling and heating furnaces, and coke in the refinery. The rolls were cast at Dunbar furnace, and the lathe for turning the rolls was put up at the mill. The mill went into operation on September 15, 1817, and was kept in operation until 1824, the latter part of the time by a Mr. Palmer. A flood in the Redstone caused the partial destruction of the mill, the machinery of which was subsequently taken to Brownsville.

Colonel Meason, who did so much to develop the iron resources of Fayette county, was a native of Virginia. His wife was a Miss Harrison of that state. He died in 1819.

A furnace named Mary Ann was erected in Greene county at a very early day, about twenty miles from Uniontown, and on the opposite side of Ten-mile creek from Clarksville. It was abandoned long before 1820. An advertisement for its sale, by "Samuel Harper, agent for the proprietors," dated July 23, 1810, called it "The Iron Works," late the property of Captain James Robinson. It was probably built about 1800. Gordon, in his *Gazetteer*, (1832,) says that "there were formerly in operation on Ten-mile creek a forge and furnace, but they have been long idle and are falling to decay." This reference is to Robinson's works. Greene county has probably never had any other iron enterprises within its limits.

The beginning of the iron industry at Pittsburgh was made at a comparatively modern period. George Anshutz, the pioneer in the manufacture of iron at Pittsburgh, was an Alsacian by birth, Alsace at the time being under the control of France. He was born November 28, 1753. In 1789 he emigrated to the United States, and soon afterwards located at a suburb of Pittsburgh now known as Shady Side, where he built a small furnace on Two-mile run, probably completing it in 1792. In 1794 it was abandoned for want of ore. It had been expected that ore could be obtained in the vicinity, but the expectation was not realized, and the expense entailed in bringing ore from other localities was too great. In 1794 the fire of the furnace lighted up the camp of the participants in the whisky insurrection. The enterprise seems to have been largely devoted to the casting of stoves and grates. The ruins of the furnace were visible until about 1850. After the abandonment of his furnace Anshutz accepted the management of John Probst's Westmoreland furnace, near Laughlinstown, and remained there about one year, whence he removed to Huntingdon county, where, in connection with Judge John Gloninger and Mordecai Massey, he built Huntingdon furnace in 1796. He died at Pittsburgh, February 28, 1837, aged 83 years.

In 1807 there were three nail factories in existence at Pittsburgh—Porter's, Sturgeon's, and Stewart's, according to Cramer's *Pittsburgh Almanac*, one of which made 100 tons of cut and wrought nails annually. In 1810 about 200 tons of cut and wrought nails were made at Pittsburgh. In 1813 there were two iron foundries at Pittsburgh—McClurg's and Anthony Beelen's, and one steel furnace, owned by Tuper & McKowan.

The first rolling mill at Pittsburgh was built in 1811 and 1812 by Christopher Cowan, an Englishman. It was called the Pittsburgh rolling mill. This mill had no puddling furnaces, nor was it built to roll bar iron. It was built to manufacture sheet iron, nail and spike rods, shovels, spades, etc. Cramer's *Pittsburgh Almanac* for 1812 says of this enterprise: "Christopher Cowan is erecting a powerful steam-engine, 70-horse power, to run a rolling mill, slitting mill, and tilt-hammer; to make iron, nails, sheet iron, spike and nail rods, shovels and tongs, spades, scythes, sickles, hoes, axes, frying pans, cutting knives, chains, plough irons, hatchets, claw hammers, chizzels, augurs, spinning-wheel irons, and smiths' vises—capital $100,000." This rolling mill stood at the intersection of Penn street and Cecil's alley, where the fourth ward school-house now stands. In 1818 it was owned by Ruggles, Stackpole & Whiting, who failed in 1819. In 1826 it was owned by R. Bowen.

The second rolling mill at Pittsburgh was the Union, on the Monongahela river, built in 1819, and accidentally blown up and permanently dismantled in 1829, the machinery being taken to Covington, Kentucky. This mill had four puddling furnaces—the first in Pittsburgh. It was also the first mill in Pittsburgh to roll bar iron. It was built by Baldwin, Robinson, McNickle & Beltzhoover. It is claimed that the first angle iron rolled in the United States was rolled at this mill by Samuel Leonard, one of its proprietors, who also rolled ell iron for salt-pans. On Pine creek, on the site of the present works of Spang, Chalfant & Co., at Etna, Belknap, Bean & Butler manufactured scythes and sickles as early as 1820, but in 1824 their works were enlarged and steam-power introduced for the purpose of rolling blooms. In 1826 they were operated by M. B. Belknap. They afterwards passed into the hands of Cuddy & Ledlie, and were purchased by H. S. Spang in 1828, to roll bar iron from Juniata blooms. Sligo rolling mill was erected where it now stands by Robert T. Stewart and John Lyon in 1825, but was partly burned down that year. The Juniata iron works were built in 1824 by Dr. Peter Shoenberger. Grant's Hill works were erected in 1821 by William B. Hays and David Adams. They stood near where the court-house now stands. Water for the generation of steam had to be hauled from the Monongahela river. The Dowlais works, in Kensington, were built in 1825 by George Lewis and Reuben Leonard. In 1826 all of these mills did not make bar iron; some only manipulated rolled and hammered iron.

In 1829 Pittsburgh had eight rolling mills, using 6,000 tons of blooms, chiefly from the Juniata valley, and 1,500 tons of pig iron. In the same year there were nine foundries which consumed 3,500 tons of iron. In 1828 the iron rolled was 3,291 tons; in 1829 it was 6,217 tons; and in 1830 it was 9,282 tons. In 1831 there were two steel furnaces at Pittsburgh. Cast iron began to be used in this year for pillars, the caps and sills of windows, etc. In 1836 there were nine rolling mills in operation, and eighteen foundries, engine-factories, and machine-shops. In 1856 there were in Pittsburgh and Allegheny county twenty-five rolling mills.

Clinton furnace, built in 1859 by Graff, Bennett & Co., and blown in on the last Monday of October in that year, was the first furnace built in Allegheny county after the abandonment in 1794 of George Anshutz's furnace at Shady Side—a surprisingly long interregnum.

Westmoreland county speedily followed Fayette county in the manufacture of iron. Westmoreland furnace, near Laughlinstown, in Ligonier valley, on Four-mile run, was built about 1792 by John Probst, who also built a small forge about the same time. Neither the furnace nor the forge was long in operation, both probably ceasing to make iron about 1810. On the 1st of August, 1795, George Anshutz, manager of Westmoreland furnace, advertised stoves and castings for sale. General Arthur St. Clair built Hermitage furnace, on Mill creek, two miles northeast of Ligonier, about 1802. It was managed for its owner by James Hamilton, and made stoves and other castings. It was in blast in 1806. In 1810 it passed out of the hands of General St. Clair, and was idle for some time. In 1816 it was started again by O'Hara & Scully, under the management of John Henry Hopkins, afterwards Protestant Episcopal bishop of Vermont. In October, 1817, Mr. Hopkins left the furnace, himself a bankrupt, and it has never since been in operation. The stack is yet standing. General St. Clair died a very poor man in 1818, aged 84 years, and was buried at Greensburg. Mount Hope furnace was built about 1810, in Donegal township, by Trevor & McClurg. Mount Pleasant furnace, on Jacob's creek, in Mount Pleasant township, was built about 1810 by Mr. McClurg, and went out of blast in 1820 while under the control of Mr. Freeman. Washington furnace, near Laughlinstown, was built about 1809 by Johnston, McClurg & Co. It was abandoned in 1826, and rebuilt in 1848 by John Bell & Co. It was in blast as late as 1854. Jonathan Maybury & Co. owned Fountain furnace before 1812. It stood on Camp run, in Donegal township, at the base of Laurel hill. The firm was dissolved on August 19, 1812. Kingston forge, erected in 1811 on Loyalhanna creek, ten miles east of Greensburg, by A. Johnston & Co., went into operation early in 1812. Ross furnace, on Tub-mill creek, in Fairfield township, was built in 1814 by Colonel Meason, and abandoned about 1850. It made pig iron, stoves, sugar-kettles, pots, ovens, skillets, etc. Hannah furnace, in Fairfield township, was built about 1810, a short distance below Ross furnace, on Tub-mill creek, by John Beninger. He also built a small forge on the same stream, where the borough of Bolivar now stands. Both the furnace and forge ceased to make iron soon after they were built. Baldwin furnace, on Laurel run, near Ross furnace, is said to have been built by James Stewart about 1810. It ran but a short time.

In 1832 there were in operation in Westmoreland county one furnace, Ross, operated by Colonel Mathiot, and one forge, Kingston, on Loyalhanna creek, operated by Alexander Johnston. The latter gentleman, whose name appears above in connection with another iron enterprise, was the father of Governor William F. Johnston. He was born in Ireland in July, 1772, and died July 15, 1872, aged 100 years.

Seven other charcoal furnaces in Westmoreland county were built between 1844 and 1855. All of the charcoal furnaces of Westmoreland county have been abandoned. The early Westmoreland furnaces shipped pig iron and castings by boats or arks on the Conemaugh and Allegheny rivers to Pittsburgh, much of which found its way down the Ohio river to Cincinnati and Louisville.

Shade furnace was built in 1807 or 1808, on Shade creek, in Somerset county, and was the first iron enterprise in the county. It was built by Gerehart & Reynolds upon land leased from Thomas Vickroy. In November, 1813, Vickroy advertised the furnace for sale, at a great bargain. A sale was effected in 1819 to Mark Richards, Anthony S. Earl, and Benjamin Johns, of New Jersey, constituting the firm of Richards, Earl & Co., who operated the furnace down to about 1830. In 1820 they built a forge called Shade, below the furnace, which was carried on by William Earl for four or five years, and afterwards by John Hammer and others. The furnace was continued, at intervals, by various proprietors to the close of 1858. About 1811 Joseph Vickroy and Conrad Piper built Mary Ann forge, on Stony creek, about five miles below Shade furnace, and a half mile below the mouth of Shade creek. David Livingston was subsequently the owner of the forge, and operated it for several years. Richard Geary, the father of Governor John W. Geary, was the millwright who built the forge for the owners. Pig iron was sometimes packed on horseback to this forge from Bedford county, the horses taking salt from the Conemaugh salt works, and bar iron, as a return load. In the year 1809 or 1810 Peter Kimmell and Matthias Scott built a forge for the manufacture of bar iron on Laurel Hill creek, now in Jefferson township, in the western part of Somerset county. It ceased operations about 1815. Supplies of metal were obtained from Bedford and Fayette counties. About the year 1810 Robert Philson erected a forge and furnace on Casselman's river, in Turkeyfoot township, to use ore mined in the immediate vicinity. The enterprise was a failure. Four other charcoal furnaces were afterwards built in Somerset county. All of the furnaces and forges in this county have long been abandoned.

The first iron enterprise in Cambria county was a forge at Johnstown, built on Stony creek, about 1809, by John Buckwalter, and subsequently removed to the Conemaugh river, also at Johnstown, where it was operated with more or less regularity down to about 1825. It was used to hammer bars out of Juniata pig iron. In 1817 Thomas Burrell, the proprietor, offered wood-cutters "fifty cents per cord for chopping two thousand cords of wood at Cambria forge, Johnstown." About 200 pounds of nails, valued at $30, were made at Johnstown by one establishment in the census year 1810. About this time an enterprise was established at Johnstown by Robert Pierson, by which nails were cut with a machine worked by a treadle, but without heads, which were afterwards added by

hand. Cambria county has been noted as an iron center since its first furnace, Cambria, was built by George S. King, David Stewart, John K. Shryock, and William L. Shryock in 1841, on Laurel run. It was followed in the next six years by five other charcoal furnaces. All of these furnaces have been abandoned. The Cambria iron works, at Johnstown, were commenced in 1853 by a company of which Mr. King was the originator and of which Dr. Peter Shoenberger was a member.

The first iron enterprise in Indiana county was Indiana forge, on Finley's run, near the Conemaugh, built about 1837 by Henry and John Noble, who also built a small furnace as early as 1840. The forge was operated by water-power, but the furnace by steam-power. The furnace and forge were both running in the last-named year. Pig iron for the forge was at first obtained from Allegheny furnace, in Blair county. Iron ore for the furnace was obtained from the Allegheny furnace mines. Becoming embarrassed, the firm was succeeded about 1843 by William D. and Thomas McKernan. About 1846 the property passed into the hands of Elias Baker, who built a new furnace and forge. John Noble owned about 1837 a farm of about 200 acres in the heart of the present city of Altoona, which he sold to David Robinson, of Pleasant valley, for $4,500, taking in payment the contents of Mr. Robinson's country store, which he removed to Finley's run and added to the capital stock of the firm of Henry and John Noble. The Altoona farm is now worth many millions of dollars. Three other charcoal furnaces in Indiana county were built in 1846 and 1847. All of the Indiana furnaces and its solitary forge have long been abandoned.

A blast furnace was built at Beaver Falls, on the west side of Beaver river, in Beaver county, in 1802, by Hoopes, Townsend & Co., and was blown in in 1804. A forge was connected with it from the beginning, and was in operation in 1806. The furnace and forge were in operation in 1816. The whole enterprise was abandoned about 1826. The ore used was picked out of gravel banks in the neighborhood in very small lumps. There was another early furnace in this county, named Bassenheim, built in 1814 by Detmar Basse Muller, on Connoquenessing creek, about a mile west of the Butler county line. In February, 1818, $12 per ton was paid for hauling the pig metal made at this furnace to Pittsburgh, thirty miles distant, over a bad road. The furnace was abandoned at an early day. John Henry Hopkins, previously mentioned in connection with General St. Clair's furnace near Ligonier, was engaged about 1815 as a clerk at Bassenheim furnace.

Prior to 1846 there were only a few furnaces in the Shenango valley—all charcoal, one of the oldest of which was Springfield furnace, half a mile from Leesburg and seven miles southeast of Mercer, built in 1837 and active in 1849. Day, in 1843, says: "Two furnaces were wrought formerly, but have since been abandoned." The geographer Joseph Scott says in 1806 that "a forge and furnace are now nearly erected" at New Castle. About 1810 there was a forge on Neshannock creek, "midway between Pearson's flour mill and Harvey's paper mill," for the manufacture of bar iron from the ore. The first rolling mill in Lawrence county was built in 1839 at New Castle by James D. White, of that place, under the superintendence of S. Wilder, a native of Massachusetts. It made bar iron and cut nails, and was subsequently known as Cosalo rolling mill. Orizaba rolling mill, at the same place, was built in 1845 by Joseph H. Brown, Joseph Higgs, and Edward Thomas, who had been employed at the Cosalo mill. In 1846 and soon afterwards several furnaces were built in this valley to use its splint coal in the raw state.

The first furnace in the once important but now nearly neglected ironmaking district composed of Armstrong, Butler, Clarion, Venango, and other northwestern counties, was doubtless Bear Creek, in Armstrong county, commenced in 1818 by Ruggles, Stackpole & Whiting, who then owned the Pittsburgh rolling mill. In the following year, owing to the failure of this firm, it passed uncompleted into the hands of Baldwin, Robinson, McNickle & Beltzhoover, of Pittsburgh. The furnace went into operation in 1819. It was abandoned long before 1850, but was running in 1832, in which year Gordon says it was owned by Henry Baldwin, Esq., and was reputed to be the largest furnace in the United States, having made forty tons of iron in a week. This furnace had a tram-road, with wooden rails, in 1818.

Rock furnace, on Roaring run, a tributary of the Kiskiminetas, four miles east of Apollo, in Armstrong county, was built about 1825 by James W. Biddle, of Pittsburgh, and others. It has been abandoned since 1855. Slippery Rock furnace, in Butler county, and Clarion furnace, in Clarion county, were built in 1828—the latter by Hon. Christian Myers, a native of Lancaster county, who built another furnace about 1844, which he called Polk. Judge Myers was the pioneer in the manufacture of iron in Clarion county, and was a man of great enterprise. Allegheny furnace, at Kittanning, in Armstrong county, and Venango furnace, on Oil creek, in Venango county, were built in 1830. In 1832 the former was owned by A. McNickle, and made about fourteen tons of iron weekly. From 1830 to 1850 this section of the state produced large quantities of charcoal pig iron. In 1850 there were 11 furnaces standing in Armstrong county, 6 in Butler, 28 in Clarion, and 18 in Venango—63 in all. In 1858 there were 18 in Armstrong, 6 in Butler, 27 in Clarion, and 24 in Venango—75 in all. All of these were charcoal furnaces, except four coke furnaces at Brady's Bend. Many of these furnaces had, however, been abandoned at the latter date. Nearly every one has since then been abandoned.

The Great Western iron works at Brady's Bend, embracing a rolling mill, and four furnaces to use coke, were commenced by Philander Raymond in 1840. They have been abandoned for many years. The rolling mill was built in 1841 to roll bar iron, but it afterwards rolled iron rails.

The iron manufactured in the Allegheny valley was taken down the Allegheny river to Pittsburgh on keel-boats and arks, the business of transporting it being quite extensive.

Erie charcoal furnace, at Erie, was built in 1842, and abandoned in 1849. It used bog ore. It was owned by Charles M. Reed. Liberty furnace, on the north side of French creek, in Crawford county, was built in 1842 by Lowry & Co., of Meadville, and abandoned in 1849.

In 1791 there were 16 furnaces and 37 forges in Pennsylvania. In 1816 there were 44 furnaces, 78 forges, and 175 nailcries. In 1849 there were 298 furnaces, 121 forges, 6 bloomaries, and 79 rolling mills. Of the furnaces existing in 1849 nearly all were charcoal furnaces, only 57 being anthracite and 11 bituminous coal and coke furnaces. The charcoal iron industry of Pennsylvania still exists in a healthy condition, but its glory has departed. About 1840 a revolution was created in the iron industry of the country, by the introduction of bituminous and anthracite coal in the blast furnace, and since about 1850 the manufacture of charcoal iron in Pennsylvania has declined.

Since about the middle of the last century Pennsylvania, whose early iron history has unavoidably occupied so much of our space, has been the foremost ironmaking state in the Union.

THE EARLY MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN DELAWARE.

In the *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, volume I, page 115, mention is made of one James Bowle, "living near iron hill, about eight miles distance from New Castle," in Delaware, in 1684. In Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*, edition of 1708, in referring to New Castle county, then in Pennsylvania, but now in Delaware, it is stated that there is a place in the county "called iron hill, from the iron ore found there," but the existence of an "iron mill," to use the ore, is expressly denied. This "iron hill" is undoubtedly the one referred to in the *Colonial Records* as having been discovered as early as 1684. Mrs. James says that on the 24th of September, 1717, Sir William Keith, governor of Pennsylvania, "wrote to the Board of Trade in London that he had found great plenty of iron ore in Pennsylvania," and Bishop says that "Sir William Keith had iron works in New Castle county, Delaware, erected previous to 1730, and probably during his administration from 1717 to 1726." This enterprise consisted of a furnace and forge, which were located on Christiana creek, and are said to have had a short life. Iron was, however, made in bloomaries on the Christiana and its branches after 1730, and there is a tradition that a furnace was in existence at the foot of "iron hill" after this date. In the gable of an old Baptist church near "iron hill" is a cast-iron plate, dated 1746, which is said to have been cast at this furnace. Among the bloomaries was one on White Clay creek, in New Castle county, owned by John Ball. In the edition of Oldmixon for 1741 the author says that "between Brandywine and Christiana is an iron mill." These references point out with all the exactness that is now possible the character and location and date of erection of the first iron enterprises in the state of Delaware.

Bishop says that in Sussex county, at the southern extremity of Delaware, "where bog ore in the shape of a very pure hydrate, yielding from 55 to 66 per cent. of iron, exists in large beds in the vicinity of Georgetown, and on the branches of the Nanticoke and Indian rivers, the manufacture of iron and castings was carried on before the Revolution to a considerable extent. The compact hydrated peroxide of some of these beds has, since the early part of this century, been raised in quantities for exportation, and the local production of iron is consequently less than it might have been." Tench Coxe, in his report on *The Arts and Manufactures of the United States* in 1810, mentions five forges in Sussex county, which produced in that year 215 tons of iron, but he makes no reference to a blast furnace in the whole state. Bog ore from near Milton, in Sussex county, was at one time taken to Millville, New Jersey, to be smelted in a furnace at that place which was built in 1815. The shipment of this ore ceased about 1853.

About 1820, as we are informed by Judge Caleb S. Layton, of Georgetown, in Sussex county, a blast furnace was established at Millsborough, on the Indian river, about eight miles south of Georgetown, by Colonel William D. Waples and others. In connection with this furnace was a foundry. An interest in the furnace was purchased in 1822 by Hon. Samuel G. Wright, of New Jersey, and in 1830 his son, Colonel Gardiner H. Wright, obtained an interest, and afterwards operated the furnace until 1836, when it went out of blast finally. The foundry continued in operation until 1879. In 1859 Lesley stated that "Millsborough charcoal furnace, owned by Gardiner H. Wright, of Millsborough, Sussex county, Delaware, is the only furnace in the state, and has not made iron for ten years. A cupola furnace is in activity beside it." Francis Vincent, of Wilmington, informs us that the castings for the eastern penitentiary of Pennsylvania, and for Moyamensing prison, and the iron railing which once surrounded Independence Square, in Philadelphia, were cast at Millsborough furnace—presumably at the "cupola furnace." He also informs us that ten or twelve years before the Revolution an English company, under the leadership of Colonel Joseph Vaughan, built a furnace near Concord, in Sussex county. The company had a stone wharf at the head of Nanticoke river, and shipped its iron direct to England. The iron was named "Old Meadow." "The stone wharf is there yet," says Mr. Vincent. Colonel Vaughan commanded one of the Delaware regiments during the Revolution. In 1828 and in the two subsequent years Millsborough furnace and foundry produced 450 tons of pig iron and 350 tons of castings.

A rolling and slitting mill near Wilmington, in Delaware, existing and in operation in 1787 or 1788, has already been referred to in the chapter relating to New York. This mill then rolled and slit Swedish and Russian iron for the use of a New York cut-nail factory. In 1810 there were three rolling and slitting mills in New Castle county.

Lesley stated in 1859 that the Delaware iron works, located five miles northwest of Wilmington, owned by Alan Wood, of Philadelphia, and built in 1812, "began to manufacture sheet iron thirty years ago in what had been a nail-plate works. At that time only Townsend in New Jersey made sheet iron." Marshall's rolling mill, on Red Clay creek, two miles west of Newport, was built in 1836. The Wilmington rolling mill, near Wilmington, was built in 1846. The Diamond State rolling mill, at Wilmington, was built in 1854. These were the only rolling mills existing in Delaware in 1859. Others have since been built. The business of iron shipbuilding has been added to the iron industries of Delaware within the last few years.

The iron hill to which reference has been made is situated about twelve miles from Wilmington, and near the Pennsylvania line. Ore taken from this place has been used at Principio furnace, in Cecil county, Maryland, since 1847. This ore has also been used in some furnaces of Pennsylvania. Previous to 1847 the mines had been worked but little. Between 1832 and 1847 some ore was mined here and taken to a furnace in New Jersey.

EARLY IRON ENTERPRISES IN MARYLAND.

In his *Report on the Manufacture of Iron*, addressed to the governor of Maryland in 1840, Alexander gives 1715 as "the epoch of furnaces in Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania." We have seen that this statement is true of Pennsylvania, and there is no reason to believe that it is not substantially true of Maryland. Scrivenor says that in 1718 Maryland and Virginia exported to England 3 tons and 7 cwt. of bar iron, upon which the mother country collected a duty of £6 19*s.* 1*d.* This indicates that iron was made in both of these colonies before that year. In 1719 the general assembly of Maryland passed an act "authorizing 100 acres of land to be laid off to any who would set up furnaces and forges in the province." Other inducements were offered in 1721 and subsequently to those who would engage in the manufacture of iron. The preamble to the act of the general assembly of 1719 recites that "there are very great conveniences of carrying on iron works within this province, which have not hitherto been embraced for want of proper encouragement to *some first undertakers*," which clearly implies that iron enterprises had already been undertaken in Maryland but were not then in operation. Who these "first undertakers" were will presently appear. As a result of the encouragement given by the general assembly, official reports show that in 1749 and again in 1756 there were eight furnaces and nine forges in Maryland, and that on the 21st of December, 1761, there were eight furnaces, making about 2,500 tons of pig iron annually, and ten forges, capable of making about 600 tons of bar iron annually. During the colonial period Maryland had no manufacturing industry worthy of the name except that of iron. Tobacco-growing and wheat-growing formed the principal employment of the people.

The first iron works in Maryland were erected in the northeastern part of the state, in Cecil county. A forge at North East, at the head of North East river, erected previous to 1716, is supposed to have been the pioneer iron enterprise. That iron works were built at North East previous to 1716 is proved by a deed, dated in that year, in which Robert Dutton conveyed a flour mill near the "bottom of the main falls of North East," together with fifty acres of land, to Richard Bennett for £100 in silver money. In this deed "iron works" are mentioned as among the appurtenances which were conveyed by it. They were probably not then active. In 1722 the iron works at North East appear to have been owned by Stephen Onion and Thomas and William Russell. These works embraced only a forge, which was at first probably used only to make iron direct from the ore.

In 1723 John England, acting for the Principio Company, of England, completed and put in blast a furnace at Principio, on Principio creek, which empties into the Chesapeake near the mouth of the Susquehanna, about six miles from North East, in Cecil county. A forge was afterwards erected at Principio. Stephen Onion, Joshua Gee, Joseph Farmer, William Russell, and John Ruston were the original members of the company. The North East and Principio companies appear to have been united about 1722. Stephen Onion and Thomas Russell were the leading spirits in both companies. Henry Whiteley has published an exceedingly full and valuable history of the Principio Company, from which we compile the following interesting details.

The most prominent members of the Principio Company, which existed for about sixty years, were Sir Nicholas Hackett Carew, Bart., of Beddington, Surrey; Thomas Russell, of Birmingham, and his sons, Thomas and William Russell; Stephen Onion; John England; Joshua, Samuel, and Osgood Gee; William Chetwynd, Esq.,—all of England; and Augustine and Lawrence Washington, of Virginia, father and brother of George Washington. In 1724 Stephen Onion and Thomas Russell left their works in charge of John England, a practical ironmaster, and sailed from New Castle for Great Britain, in the same ship with Benjamin Franklin, who says in his autobiography that they were "masters of an iron work in Maryland" and had engaged "the great cabin." Onion soon returned, and in 1726 was in active superintendence at Principio; but Russell remained in England.

Ore for the furnace was at first obtained in the immediate neighborhood, but as early as September 4, 1724, it was obtained from Gorsuch's point, below Canton, on the eastern shore of the Patapsco, about opposite to Fort McHenry. In 1727 the Principio Company, through John England, purchased all the iron ore, "opened and discovered, or shut and not yet discovered," on Whetstone point, at the extremity of which Fort McHenry now stands, for £300 sterling and £20 current money of Maryland. This was for many years one of its principal sources of ore supply.

The company did not confine its operations to Principio and North East. It was early in treaty with Captain Augustine Washington for land in Virginia, at Accokeek, on which to erect a furnace. In February, 1725, the furnace was ready for work, and John Barker, the founder at Principio, was sent there to start it. After Accokeek, Kingsbury furnace was the company's next venture. It was situated on Herring run, at the head of Back river, in Baltimore county. It was built in 1744 and went into blast in April, 1745, producing at the first blast, which lasted till December 18th of the same year, 480 tons of pig iron. The first four blasts embraced the period extending from April 1, 1745, to December 26, 1751, and produced 3,853 tons, or an average of 75 tons per working month. More than 3,300 tons of the iron were shipped to the company in England. In 1751 Lancashire furnace was purchased from Dr. Charles Carroll, of Annapolis. It was located near Kingsbury, on the west side of a branch of Back river, a few miles northeast of Baltimore. The deed embraced 8,200 acres of land, and was "signed" on behalf of the company by Lawrence Washington. Lancashire furnace was operated by the company from the time of its purchase until the Revolution. It was its last acquisition of property in America. At the time of its purchase the company outranked all competitors, being the sole proprietor of four furnaces and two forges, viz: Principio furnace, Cecil county, Maryland, built about 1715; Principio forge at the same place; North East forge, Cecil county, Maryland, built about 1715; Accokeek furnace, Virginia, built in 1725; Kingsbury furnace, Baltimore county, Maryland, built in 1744; Lancashire furnace, Baltimore county, Maryland, purchased in 1751. It owned slaves and live stock in abundance, and its landed estates were of great extent, amounting to nearly thirty thousand acres, exclusive of the Accokeek lands in Virginia. One-half of the pig iron exported to Great Britain from this country is said by Mr. Whiteley to have come from its works.

After 1776 the company had no actual control over any of its American property. Thomas Russell, who had been the company's general manager, continued to operate the furnaces and forges, and supplied bar iron and cannon balls in large quantities to the Continental army. In the Lancashire furnace ledger is an "account of shott made at Lancashire furnace in the year 1776."

In 1780 the general assembly of Maryland passed an act to seize and confiscate all British property within the state, and this was the end of the Principio Company, after an existence of more than sixty years. All the possessions of the company, with two exceptions, passed under the auctioneer's hammer and into new hands. The works at North East were retained by Thomas Russell, one of the company and a son of the first Thomas Russell, who had cast his fortunes with the patriotic cause. The Accokeek lands are supposed to have fallen to "a certain Mr. Washington," who owned a one-twelfth interest in the possessions of the company, and was also a patriot.

From George P. Whitaker we learn that Thomas Russell, at his death in 1786, left a son Thomas, the third of that name. On his arrival at the age of twenty-one, his mother meanwhile having married Daniel Sheredine, he revived the iron industry at North East, with the assistance of Sheredine, and built, in 1802, a furnace which was in operation only four years. Not proving as profitable as had been anticipated, it was blown out on the death of young Thomas Russell, which occurred in 1806.

In 1744 William Black, secretary of the commissioners appointed by Governor Gooch, of Virginia, to unite with those from Pennsylvania and Maryland to treat with the Iroquois, or Six Nations of Indians, in reference to the lands west of the Alleghenies, wrote in his journal, on May 25th, while at North East in Maryland: "I must not forget that in the forenoone the Com'rs and their company went to the Principio iron works, in order to view the curiosities of that place. They are under the management of Mr. Baxter, a Virginian, and was at work forming barr-iron when we came there. For my part I was no judge of the workmanship, but I thought everything appeared to be in very good order, and they are allowed to be as compleat works as any on the continent by those who are judges." This visit was made to North East forge, which, being owned by the Principio Company, formed a part of the "Principio iron works."

Iron works have been almost continuously in operation at Principio and North East since their first establishment, or about one hundred and sixty years. At Principio George P. Whitaker and his associates have had a charcoal furnace in operation since 1837, and at North East, on the very site of the old forge, are the present extensive iron works of the McCullough Iron Company.

Pig iron from Virginia furnaces was taken to the forge at North East, and perhaps to Principio forge, to be refined into bar iron.

About thirty years ago a whole pig of iron was found near the site of the first Principio furnace, which was plainly stamped "Principio, 1727." A few years ago two or three pigs of iron, marked "Principio* 1751," were discovered in the bed of the Patapsco river. All of these relics have been preserved.

A furnace at the mouth of Gwynn's falls, and a forge at Jones's falls, called Mount Royal, were built by the Baltimore Company soon after 1723 and before 1730—Messrs. Carroll, Tasker, and others forming the company.

Stephen Onion severed his connection with the Principio Company and built a furnace and two forges of his own at the head of Gunpowder river, about a mile from Joppa, then one of the principal towns of Maryland, but now wholly deserted. These works were advertised for sale in 1769, after Stephen Onion's death. The exact date of the erection of these extensive works has not been preserved.

Bush furnace, in Harford county, and Northampton furnace, in Baltimore county, were built about 1760—the

latter by members of the Ridgely family. The proprietors of this furnace owned a forge on the Great Gunpowder river, called Long Cam forge, which was probably older than the furnace. Bush furnace, located on Bush creek, was owned about 1767 by John Lee Webster. On the Patapsco, near Elkridge Landing, were Elkridge furnace and forge, owned by Edward Dorsey; at a locality not now known was York furnace; in Anne Arundel county were the Patuxent furnace and forge, owned by Thomas, Richard, and Edward Snowden. There was once a furnace on Stemmer's run, about seven miles from Baltimore. There was also a furnace on Curtis creek, in Patapsco county, built by William Goodwin and Edward Dorsey, which remained in operation until 1851. Nottingham furnace, in Baltimore, was built before the Revolution.

In 1762 Robert Evans, Jonathan Morris, and Benjamin Jacobs built Unicorn forge at a place called Nasby, in Queen Ann county. The castings for the forge were procured at "Bush river furnace," which appears to have been then operated by Isaac Webster. The firm of Evans, Morris & Jacobs was not long in existence.

In Frederick county were several early iron enterprises, particulars of which have been preserved by Alexander. Old Hampton furnace, on Tom's creek, about two miles west of Emmetsburg, was built between 1760 and 1765 by persons whose names have not survived. Legh furnace was built about the same time by an Englishman named Legh Master, at the head of Little Pipe creek, two or three miles southwest of Westminster. Both of these furnaces were soon abandoned. Catoctin furnace, situated about twelve miles northwest of Frederick, was built in 1774 by James Johnson & Co. It was rebuilt in 1787 by the same company, "about three-fourths of a mile further up Little Hunting creek, and nearer the ore banks." It was again rebuilt about 1831. We may add that in 1856 a new furnace was built at the same place, called Catoctin No. 2, and in 1874 another furnace was added, called Catoctin No. 3. All of the Catoctin furnaces were in operation in 1880, and all used charcoal, although No. 3 usually uses anthracite and coke. The yield of the first Catoctin furnace was from twelve to eighteen tons of pig iron weekly. Shortly after the erection of the first Catoctin furnace the same owners erected on Bush creek, about two miles above its mouth, the Bush creek forge. The forge was in operation until 1810, when it was abandoned. About the time when Catoctin furnace and Bush creek forge were built the Johnsons built a rolling and slitting mill at a spot known in 1840 as Reel's mill. About 1787 they built Johnson furnace on a small stream one mile above the mouth of the Monocacy. In 1793 the various iron properties belonging to the Johnsons were divided, and Johnson furnace fell to Roger Johnson, who soon afterwards built a forge in connection with the furnace. It was situated on Big Bennett's creek, about five miles above its junction with the Monocacy, and was called Bloomsburg forge. Its weekly product was between four and five tons of finished iron. The furnace and forge were abandoned soon after 1800. Fielderea furnace, on the Harper's Ferry road, three miles south of Frederick, was built by Fielder Gantt shortly after the Revolution, but after making one blast it was abandoned. This event occurred before 1791.

In Washington county there were many iron enterprises at an early day, most of which have been noted by Alexander. In 1770 James Johnson superintended the erection of Green Spring furnace, on Green Spring run, one mile above its entrance into the Potomac. It was owned by a Mr. Jacques and Governor Johnson. The neighboring iron ore not being of good quality, the furnace was abandoned in a few years. James Johnson also built Licking creek forge, near the mouth of Licking creek, for the same firm. It was at first supplied with pig iron from Green Spring furnace, but was afterwards sold to "Mr. Chambers, of Chambersburg, who carried it on for several years with pig supplied from his furnace in Pennsylvania." Mount Etna furnace, on a branch of Antietam creek, five or six miles north of Hagerstown, was built by Samuel and Daniel Hughes about 1770, and was in successful operation for many years. During the Revolution it cast the first Maryland cannon. About a mile and a half from the furnace, and about four miles from Hagerstown, the same owners built Antietam forge, which was in operation after the furnace was abandoned. Bishop states that General Thomas Johnson and his brother were the owners in May, 1777, of a furnace at Frederick, but it was not then in blast. Between 1775 and 1780 Henderson & Ross built a furnace at the mouth of Antietam creek. A forge was built at the same place about the same time. There were at least three forges on Antietam creek during the last century. In 1845 a new furnace was built on the site of the original Antietam furnace, and it is still in operation. A small rolling mill, with a nail factory attached, was built at the same place about 1831 and abandoned about 1853.

Bishop says that a slitting mill was established at or near Baltimore in 1778 by William Whetcroft, and that about the same time two nail factories were established in the city—one by George Matthews and the other by Richardson Stewart. At Elkridge Landing Dr. Howard owned a tilting forge in 1783. On Deer creek, in Harford county, a forge and slitting mill were built during the last century. During the Revolution there were 17 or 18 forges in operation in Maryland, in addition to furnaces and other iron enterprises.

After the Revolution the iron manufacture of Maryland experienced a healthy development, which has continued without serious interruption to the present time. One of the first successful rolling mills in the state was the celebrated Avalon iron works, on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, half a mile above the Relay House, built about 1790 and in use down to about 1860. It first made nails exclusively, but afterwards it also rolled rails. A rolling mill was built on the Big Elk river, five miles north of Elkton, in 1810, on the site of copper works which had existed before the Revolution. It was active until about 1860, making sheet iron chiefly. Octorara forge and rolling mill, on

Octorara creek, four miles above its mouth and eight miles north of Port Deposit, were built about 1810. These works are still active, and, together with two other Maryland rolling mills of modern origin, are owned by the McCullough Iron Company. The once numerous forges of Maryland have gradually given place to rolling mills. In 1840 several forges were in operation; in 1856 two forges were active, and in 1880 there was only one forge active—the one at North East.

The development of the iron ores belonging to the coal measures of the extreme western part of Maryland appears to have been undertaken about fifty years ago. Near the village of Friendsville, on Bear creek, a branch of the Youghiogheny river, there were erected, in 1828 and 1829, the Yohogany iron works, consisting of a furnace and two forges, to use charcoal. These works were abandoned about 1834. In 1837 a furnace 50 feet high and 14½ feet wide at the boshes was built at Lonaconing, eight miles southwest of Frostburg, by the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company, to use coke. In June, 1839, it was making about 70 tons per week of good foundry iron, with coke as fuel. Overman claims that this was the first successful coke furnace in the United States. Two large blast furnaces were built in 1840 by the Mount Savage Iron Company, nine miles northwest of Cumberland, also to use coke. This enterprise was also successful. In 1845 the same company built an additional furnace, but it was never lined. The Mount Savage rolling mill was built in 1843, especially to roll iron rails, and in 1844 it rolled the first rails rolled in this country. These rails were of the inverted U pattern, and weighed 42 pounds to the yard. Alleghany county, Maryland, is thus entitled to two of the highest honors in connection with the American iron trade. It built the first successful coke furnace and rolled the first heavy iron rails. The furnaces and rolling mill of the Mount Savage Iron Company have long been inactive and abandoned.

In 1846 a furnace called Lena was built at Cumberland, which at first used charcoal and afterwards used coke. It was not long in operation.

Alexander mentions a furnace on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, built in 1830 by Mark Richards, about five miles from Snow Hill, to use bog ore yielding only 28 per cent. of iron. Its annual production about 1834 was 700 tons. In 1840 the furnace was owned by T. A. Spence. It was called Naseongo, and it was the only furnace in the state that used bog ore exclusively or in large quantities. A bloomary which used bog ore once stood near Federalsburg, but it was abandoned long ago.

The prominence of Maryland as an iron-producing state was relatively much greater in 1870 than in 1880. In the former year it was fifth in rank, and in the latter year it was twelfth.

A furnace was built at Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, in 1849, and finally went out of blast about 1855. A second stack was built at the same place, but was never lined and consequently never put in blast. Before 1812 the United States Government built an anchor forge at the navy-yard at Washington, which was enlarged about 1830, and afterwards used to produce anchors, shafts, chains, etc. The District of Columbia never had any other iron enterprises until 1878, when the Government established a small rolling mill at the navy-yard. The forge is still in operation, as is also the rolling mill.

REVIVAL OF THE IRON INDUSTRY IN VIRGINIA.

After the failure to manufacture iron on Falling creek in 1622 no successful effort was made to revive the iron industry in Virginia until after the beginning of the succeeding century—a delay of almost a hundred years. To Colonel Alexander Spotswood, who was governor of Virginia from 1710 to 1723, the honor of having established the iron industry of the colony on a firm and permanent basis is fairly due, although the exact date of the commencement of the various iron enterprises is lost. We are indebted to the researches of R. A. Brock, Esq., of Richmond, for the following information concerning the inception of Governor Spotswood's schemes to effect a revival of the iron industry in Virginia.

In the collections of the Virginia Historical Society are two MS. volumes of the letters of Governor Spotswood to the lords commissioners the council of trade at London, covering the period from 1710 to 1721. On October 24, 1710, the Governor writes: "There is a project to be handed to the next assembly for improvement of the iron mines, lately discovered in this country, the ores of which upon tryall have been found to be extraordinary rich and good. It is proposed that the work be carried on at publick charge." This scheme appears not to have been acted upon by the assembly. On December 15, 1710, the Governor writes: "I humbly propose to your lordships' consideration whether it might not turn to good account if her majesty would be pleased to take that work [the iron] in her own hands, sending over workmen and materials for carrying it on." He states that the "iron mines lie at the falls of James river." On January 27, 1714, he asks that the German Protestants settled at the head of the Rappahannock river, who came over with Baron de Graffenreidt "in hopes to find out mines," be exempted from the payment of levies for the support of the government. In the latter part of 1716 lengthy charges for malfeasance in office were anonymously preferred against Governor Spotswood to the council of trade, the counts of which are numerous. In one of them Governor Spotswood is charged, under pretense of guarding the frontiers, with building, at the cost of the government, two forts, one at the head of James river and another at the head of Rappahannock river, only to support his two private interests, at least one of which, that on the Rappahannock, related to the manufacture of iron. Another account charges the maintenance at public cost, at these forts, of "rangers," for three years

ending in December, 1716. The beginning of this period would be near that of the German settlement, the members of which were the operatives of Governor Spotswood. It may be assumed that some of his iron enterprises were in operation certainly in 1716, and most likely two years earlier.

In 1727 the general assembly of Virginia passed "an act for encouraging adventurers in iron works," which begins as follows: "Whereas, divers persons have of late expended great sums of money in erecting furnaces and other works for the making of iron in several parts of the country, . . . and forasmuch as it is absolutely necessary for roads to be laid out and cleaned from all such iron works to convenient landings," etc.

In *A Progress to the Mines*, by Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, Virginia, written in September, 1732, is given a full account of the iron enterprises of Virginia at that time. They embraced three blast furnaces and one air furnace, but no forge. One of the blast furnaces was at Fredericksville, a village which has disappeared from the maps, but which was located about twenty-five miles south of Fredericksburg, in Caroline county or Spottsylvania county. Mr. Chiswell, the manager, told Colonel Byrd that the pig iron produced at the furnace was carted twenty-four miles over an uneven road to the Rappahannock river, about a mile below Fredericksburg. This furnace was built of brick, but it had been idle "ever since May, for want of corn to support the cattle." Colonel Byrd says: "The fire in the furnace is blown by two mighty pair of bellows, that cost £100 each, and these bellows are moved by a great wheel of 26 foot diameter." The owners of the furnace had invested about £12,000 in land, negroes, cattle, etc., and had made 1,200 tons of iron. "When the furnace blows it runs about 20 tons a week." Colonel Byrd says the company was formed as follows: "Mr. Fitz Williams took up the mine tract, and had the address to draw in the Governor, [Spotswood,] Captain Pearse, Dr. Nicolas, and Mr. Chiswell to be jointly concerned with him, by which contrivance he first got a good price for the land, and then, when he had been very little out of pocket, sold his share to Mr. Nelson for £500, and of these gentlemen the company at present consists. And Mr. Chiswell is the only person amongst them that knows anything of the matter." One of the mines attached to the furnace was fifteen or twenty feet deep, and the ore was dislodged by blasting, after which it was carried away "in baskets up to the heap." It was calcined before being used, a layer of charcoal and ore alternating. The limestone used at the furnace was brought from Bristol as ballast, and carted from the Rappahannock to the furnace by the ox teams which brought down the iron. Colonel Byrd recommended the substitution of oyster shells for limestone, but without effect.

The next furnace visited by Colonel Byrd was directly controlled by Colonel Spotswood, and was situated in Spottsylvania county, about twenty miles southwest of Fredericksburg, and about thirteen miles from Germanna. This last place was situated in Orange county, on the south side of the Rapidan, and about fourteen miles distant from its junction with the Rappahannock. It had been settled by Germans and afterwards abandoned for another location on "land of their own, ten miles higher, in the Fork of Rappahannock." The furnace, according to Colonel Spotswood, was the first in Virginia. It was built of rough stone, "having been the first of that kind erected in the country." The iron made at this furnace was carted 15 miles to Massaponux, on the Rappahannock, five miles above Fredericksburg, where Colonel Spotswood had recently erected an air furnace, which he "had now brought to perfection, and should be thereby able to furnish the whole country with all sorts of cast iron, as cheap and as good as ever came from England." The blast furnace "had not blown for several moons, the Colonel having taken off great part of his people to carry on his air furnace at Massaponux." "Here the wheel that carried the bellows was no more than 20 feet diameter." The ore at this furnace was also blasted with gunpowder. "All the land hereabouts seems paved with iron ore, so that there seems to be enough to feed a furnace for many ages."

Colonel Byrd next mentions "England's iron mines, called so from the chief manager of them, tho' the land belongs to Mr. Washington." These mines he states were on the north side of the Rappahannock river, "not far from a spring of strong steel water," which was in King George county, twelve miles distant from Fredericksburg. Two miles distant from the mines was a furnace. "Mr. Washington raises the ore, and carts it thither for 20 shillings the ton of iron that it yields. The furnace is built on a run, which discharges its waters into Potomeck. And when the iron is cast they cart it about six miles to a landing on that river. Besides Mr. Washington and Mr. England there are several other persons in England concerned in these works. Matters are very well managed there, and no expense is spared to make them profitable, which is not the case in the works I have already mentioned." This was Accokeek furnace, already referred to in the Maryland chapter as forming one of the possessions of the Principio Company. It was situated in Stafford county. The "Mr. Washington" referred to was Augustine Washington, the father of George Washington.

Colonel Byrd did not visit Accokeek furnace. He visited Colonel Spotswood's air furnace at Massaponux, which he fully describes. It was a very ambitious and creditable enterprise, and appears to have been successfully managed. Colonel Spotswood used it "to melt his sow iron, in order to cast it into sundry utensils, such as backs for chimneys, andirons, fenders, plates for hearths, pots, mortars, rollers for gardeners, skillets, boxes for cart wheels, and many other things. And, being cast from the sow iron, are much better than those which come from England, which are cast immediately from the ore for the most part." "Here are two of these air furnaces in one room, that so in case one want repair the other may work, they being exactly of the same structure." Colonel Spotswood informed Colonel Byrd that Robert Cary, of England, was a silent partner of his in all his iron enterprises.

The connection of the Washington family with the iron industry of Virginia and Maryland justifies further reference to the Accokeek furnace. As has been stated in the chapter relating to Maryland, the furnace was ready for work in February, 1725. Custis, in his *Recollections*, relates that Augustine Washington, after the burning of his house in Westmoreland, removed with his family to a situation near Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, where he became connected with the Principio Company. Colonel Byrd has partly explained the nature of this connection. Mr. Whiteley tells us that Accokeek became a valuable property. In 1750 it sent to the company in England 410 tons of pig iron, about one-sixth of the entire quantity exported from Maryland and Virginia in that year. Augustine Washington, at his death in 1743, left the estate afterwards known as Mount Vernon, and his share, one-twelfth, in the Principio Company, to his son Lawrence, an elder half-brother of George Washington. Lawrence died in 1752.

We have examined the will of Lawrence Washington, of Fairfax county, Virginia, as it is recorded in Albert Welles's *History of the Washington Family*. It is dated June 20, 1752. We make the following literal extract: "I give and bequeath to my daughter Sarah, . . after my just debts are discharged, all my real and personal estate in Virginia and the Province of Maryland, not otherwise disposed of. But in case it should please God my said daughter should die without issue, it is then my will and desire that my estate, both real and personal, be disposed of in the following manner. First. I give and bequeath unto my loving brother Augustine Washington and his heirs forever all my stock, interest, and estate in the Principio, Accokeek, Kingsbury, Laconshire, & No. East iron works, in Virginia and Maryland, reserving one-third of the profits of the said works to be paid my wife as hereafter mentioned." George Washington was one of the executors of this will. Sarah did not long survive her father, and upon her death Augustine Washington succeeded to the ownership of his iron interests, and George Washington succeeded to the ownership of Mount Vernon. Mr. Whiteley tells us that it was at the solicitation of Augustine Washington, "in behalf of himself and other adventurers in iron works," that in 1757 the Virginia Council remitted the port duties and fees on pig and bar iron imported into that province from Maryland. He also states that Accokeek furnace was abandoned soon after Lawrence Washington's death, owing to the failure of a supply of ore within a reasonable distance. In 1753 the slaves, horses, cattle, and wagons were sold, and affairs were gradually closed up until nothing but the real estate was left, of which Augustine Washington doubtless afterwards became sole owner.

Mr. Brock writes us that, in *Hening's Statutes*, volume ix, pp. 303–4, in May, 1777, there is "an act for the encouragement of iron works," which recites that, "Whereas, the discovery and manufacturing of iron ore requisite for the fabricating the various implements of husbandry, small arms, intrenching tools, anchors, and other things necessary for the army and navy, is at this time essential to the welfare and existence of this state, as the usual supplies of pig and bar iron from foreign states is rendered difficult and uncertain, and James Hunter, near Fredericksburg, hath erected and is now carrying on, at considerable expense and labour, many extensive factories, slitting, plating, and wire mills, and is greatly retarded through the want of pig and bar iron; and whereas, there is a certain tract of land in the county of Stafford, called or known by the name of Accokeek furnace tract, on which a furnace for the making of pig iron was formerly erected and carried on, which has been since discontinued." The act goes on to authorize James Hunter to enter upon two hundred acres of the Accokeek tract, including the old furnace, if its owners or agents should fail in one month to begin and within six months to erect thereon a furnace equal to or larger than the former one, and prosecute the same for the making of pig iron and other castings.

Mr. Chisholm told Colonel Byrd that "we had as yet no forge erected in Virginia, tho' we had four furnaces. But there was a very good one set up at the head of the bay in Maryland, that made exceeding good work." The forge referred to was probably the one at North East. Colonel Spotswood told Colonel Byrd that "he was not only the first in this country, but the first in North America, who had erected a regular furnace; that they ran altogether upon bloomerys in New England and Pennsylvania till his example had made them attempt greater works." The correctness of this statement cannot be maintained, nor can that of Colonel Byrd, made doubtless on the authority of Colonel Spotswood, that the furnace near Germanna was the first furnace in the country that was "built of rough stone."

In the valley of Virginia many furnaces and forges were built prior to the Revolution, and others were built before the close of the century. Zane's furnace and forge, on Cedar creek, in Frederick county, are said to have been the first iron works in the valley. Pine forge, in Shenandoah county, three and a half miles north of New Market, was built in 1725, according to Lesley. Isabella furnace, on Hawksbill creek, near Luray, in Page county, was built in 1760. In Augusta county, fifteen miles north of Staunton, a forge was built in 1757 on Mossy creek, and on the same stream a furnace was built in 1760.

Union forge, near Waynesborough, in Augusta county, was built about 1800. In Rockbridge county were two forges, built about 1800—Gibraltar forge, on North river, nine miles north of Lexington, and Buffalo forge, on Buffalo creek, the same distance south of Lexington. Moore's furnace, on Steele's creek, in this county, and a furnace on Smith's creek, in Rockingham county, were built before 1800.

A furnace was built in Loudon county before 1800, concerning which Bishop states that Mr. Clapham, its owner, "cut a canal through the end of Cotocktin mountain, 500 feet through solid rock and 60 feet beneath the surface, to obtain water for his furnace and mill."

Iron works were erected in Craig, Grayson, Wythe, Washington, Carroll, and other southwestern counties about the close of the last century. A forge on Chestnut creek, in Carroll county, was built about 1790, and another on Little Reed Island creek was built about the same time.

Bishop says that an excellent air furnace was built at Westham, six miles above Richmond, on the north side of the river, during the Revolution; there was also a cannon foundry here at the same period. Benedict Arnold destroyed the works at Westham in 1781. A rolling and slitting mill was afterwards built at Westham, which was probably the first in the state. The Government armory at Harper's Ferry was established in 1798.

At Lynchburg and in its vicinity, in the James River valley, several furnaces and forges were built in the last century, some of which are referred to in the following extract from Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, written in 1781 and 1782, but not printed until 1788.

> The mines of iron worked at present are Callaway's, Ross's, and Ballendine's on the south side of James river; Old's on the north side, in Albemarle; Millar's in Augusta, and Zane's in Frederick. These two last are in the valley between the Blue ridge and North mountain. Callaway's, Ross's, Millar's, and Zane's make about 150 tons of bar iron each in the year. Ross's makes also about 1,600 tons of pig iron annually; Ballendine's, 1,000; Callaway's, Millar's, and Zane's, about 600 each. Besides these, a forge of Mr. Hunter's, at Fredericksburg, makes about 300 tons a year of bar iron, from pigs imported from Maryland; and Taylor's forge, on Neapsco of Potowmac, works in the same way, but to what extent I am not informed. The indications of iron in other places are numerous, and dispersed through all the middle country. The toughness of the cast iron of Ross's and Zane's furnace is very remarkable. Pots and other utensils cast thinner than usual, of this iron, may be safely thrown into or out of the wagons in which they are transported. Salt-pans made of the same, and no longer wanted for that purpose, cannot be broken up, in order to be melted again, unless previously drilled in many parts.
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> In the western country we are told of iron mines between the Muskingum and Ohio; of others on Kentucky, between the Cumberland and Barren rivers, between Cumberland and Tanissee, on Reedy creek, near the Long island, and on Chestnut creek, a branch of the Great Kanhaway near where it crosses the Carolina line. What are called the iron-banks, on the Mississippi, are believed, by a good judge, to have no iron in them. In general, from what is hitherto known of that country, it seems to want iron.

This account by Jefferson seems to establish the fact that the iron industry of Virginia was not very extensive just after the close of the Revolution. Ross's works were on Beaver creek, seven miles southeast of Lynchburg, and Thomas Callaway's were near Rocky Mount, or Franklin court-house. Lesley mentions Saunders's furnace at the latter place as having been abandoned about 1800. Miller's works were near the northern boundary of Augusta county, "at the foot of North mountain." About 1790 the iron industry of Virginia took a fresh start, as did many other manufactures of the state. This activity continued for many years, but it was partly checked in subsequent years by the greater attention given by the people of Virginia to agricultural pursuits.

No state in the Union gave more attention to domestic manufactures after the close of the Revolution than Virginia. Richmond, Lynchburg, Staunton, Winchester, and some other places became noted for the extent and variety of their manufactures. Household manufactures were also everywhere cultivated. The manufacture of nails was one of these household industries. Thomas Jefferson required about a dozen of the younger slaves owned by him to make nails, and it is said that "they made about a ton of nails a month at a considerable profit."

Lesley enumerates no less than 88 charcoal furnaces and 59 forges and bloomaries as having been built in Virginia prior to 1856; also 12 rolling mills. Several of these various enterprises were within the limits of the present state of West Virginia. The furnaces were located in 31 counties and the forges in 25 counties.

The first rolling mill of any kind west of the Allegheny mountains of which we can obtain exact information was located in West Virginia, and is described in Cramer's *Pittsburgh Almanac* for 1813, issued in 1812, as follows: "Jackson & Updegraff, on Cheat river, have in operation a furnace, forge, rolling and slitting mill, and nail factory—nails handsome, iron tough." Like all the rolling and slitting mills of that day, the Cheat river mill did not puddle iron nor roll bar iron, but rolled only sheet iron and nail plates. Hon. James Veech informed us in his lifetime that its location was on the road from Uniontown to Morgantown, about three miles south of the Pennsylvania state line, and eight miles north of Morgantown. In the old days before the civil war Wheeling was the center of the rolling-mill industry of Virginia, having seven of the twelve rolling mills in the state. Of the remaining five mills, four were in Richmond and one was on Reed creek, in Wythe county, twelve miles east of Wytheville. Since the war two rolling mills have been established at Lynchburg, and new mills have been built at Wheeling.

A large number of the furnaces and forges of Virginia were abandoned before 1850. In 1856 there were 39 charcoal furnaces and 43 forges enumerated by Lesley as being then in operation or prepared to make iron. Since 1856 many of the charcoal furnaces and most of the forges which were then in existence have been abandoned. Insufficient transportation facilities, coupled with the failure of ore in certain localities, have had much to do with the abandonment of many charcoal furnaces in Virginia, while the disappearance of the forges is attributable to other well-known causes. Of late years, however, the extension of railroads and the discovery of new and valuable ore deposits have given a fresh impetus to the manufacture of pig iron in Virginia and West Virginia, much of which is made with coke, West Virginia supplying an excellent quality of this fuel. The future of the iron industry

of these two states is to-day very promising. The young state, however, in both 1870 and 1880 took higher rank among iron-producing states than the old state. It ranked tenth in 1870 and seventh in 1880; whereas Virginia ranked thirteenth in 1870 and sixteenth in 1880.

THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN NORTH CAROLINA.

Scrivenor says that in 1728–'29 there were imported into England from "Carolina" 1 ton and 1 cwt. of pig iron, and that in 1734 there were imported 2 qrs. and 12 lbs. of bar iron. Shipments of pig iron and bar iron from "Carolina" were made in subsequent years down to the Revolution. It is a curious fact that hoes made in Virginia and "Carolina" were sold in New York several years before the Revolution.

Bishop says that several iron works were in operation in North Carolina before the Revolution, some of which were put out of blast by that event. They were situated on branches of the Cape Fear, Yadkin, and Dan rivers. When the shadow of the approaching conflict with the mother country reached North Carolina, her patriotic citizens, first in convention at New Berne and afterwards in the provincial legislature, encouraged, by the offer of liberal premiums, the manufacture of crude and finished iron and steel, as well as other manufactured products. "John Wilcox was the proprietor of a furnace and iron works on Deep run in the beginning of the war. There were also iron works in Guilford county, probably on the same stream. In April, 1776, the provincial congress sent commissioners to treat with Mr. Wilcox for the use of his furnace and works for two years, or to purchase and repair those in Guilford, for casting ordnance, shot, etc., and empowered them to draw on the treasury for £5,000 for that purpose." Buffalo Creek furnace and forge were also built before the war on Buffalo creek, in Cleveland county, not far from King's mountain, on the southern border of the state.

Prior to 1800 there were in operation in Lincoln county four forges, two bloomaries, and two furnaces. One of the furnaces, Vesuvius, on Anderson's creek, built in 1780, was in operation down to 1873. Of other iron enterprises established in North Carolina in the last century we condense from Lesley and Bishop the following information: Union bloomary forge, on Snow creek, in Stokes county, six miles northeast of Danbury, was built in 1780. Iron works were built on Snow creek, also in the same county, and were conducted with spirit about 1790. Keyser's bloomary forge, on the headwaters of Town fork, in the same county, ten miles southwest of Danbury, was built in 1796. Hill's bloomary forge, on Tom's creek, in Surry county, nineteen miles west of Danbury, was built in 1791. In the same county, near the Yadkin, iron works were erected a few years after the Revolution, probably by Moravians from Pennsylvania, who had settled in the county as early as 1753. In Wilkes county a forge was built about the same time. A furnace and forge were erected on Troublesome creek, in Rockingham county, at an early day. In Burke county, at the foot of the Blue ridge, two bloomaries and two forges were erected before the close of the last century.

After 1800 the iron industry of North Carolina was still further developed. This development was, however, mainly confined to the manufacture of iron in bloomaries, the magnetic and hematite ores of the state being well adapted to this primitive mode of treatment. In 1810, according to Tench Coxe, there were six bloomaries, two rolling and slitting mills, and two naileries in Lincoln county; one bloomary in Iredell county; six bloomaries and one trip-hammer in Burke county; and five bloomaries in Surry county—eighteen bloomaries in all. In 1856 Lesley enumerated about forty bloomaries and a few forges, most of which were then in operation. The *trompe*, or water-blast, was in general use. He also described six furnaces: Vesuvius, already referred to; Madison, on Leiper's creek, in Lincoln county, built in 1810; Rehoboth, on the same creek and in the same county, built in 1810; Columbia, seven miles west of High Shoals, in Gaston county, then in ruins; Tom's Creek, near Hill's forge, on Tom's creek, destroyed by a flood in 1850; Buffalo creek, already referred to, and then in ruins. Vesuvius, Madison, and Rehoboth were blown with wooden "tubs." There was also active at this date a small rolling mill on Crowder's creek, in Gaston county, a mile and a quarter north of King's mountain, owned by Benjamin F. Briggs, of Yorkville, South Carolina, and built in 1853. At the same time another small rolling mill and forge, known as High Shoals iron works, and situated in Gaston county, were in ruins.

At least two furnaces were built in North Carolina during the civil war, one in Chatham and one in Lincoln county, and two were built in Chatham county after the war, but of these four furnaces, and Vesuvius, Madison, and Rehoboth, all of which are still standing, as may possibly be one or two other furnaces, not one has made a pound of iron since 1877. Of the long list of bloomaries and forges which the state could once boast, less than a dozen are now active, and there is not to-day a rolling mill or steel works in the state.

THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

If the iron industry of North Carolina has declined in late years, that of South Carolina has suffered a worse fate; it has been an extinct industry for many years. Yet this state made some iron as early as the Revolutionary period, and subsequently it made iron in considerable quantities. In the northwestern part of South Carolina, including the counties of Union, Spartanburg, and York, are deposits of magnetic ores, and here,

according to Dr. Ramsay, quoted by Bishop, the first iron works in the state were erected by Mr. Buffington in 1773, but they were destroyed by the Tories during the Revolutionary war.

At the beginning of the Revolution South Carolina followed the example of many other colonies by offering liberal premiums to those who would establish iron works, but we do not learn that the manufacture of iron was thereby increased. Mr. Buffington's experience probably deterred others from embarking in the business.

Several furnaces and forges were erected in this state a few years after the peace, the principal of which were the Era and Etna furnaces and forges in York county. The Era was built in 1787 and the Etna in 1788. These enterprises were situated on a creek flowing into the Catawba river, and about two miles west of it. In 1795 the nearest landing to these works was at Camden, seventy miles below. They were on the road leading from Charlotte, in North Carolina, to Yorkville. Iron ore was abundant in the neighborhood, and was easily smelted after having been roasted. "It was obtained, massive, in such quantity above the surface that it was thought there would be no occasion to resort to shafts or levels for half a century." William Hill was one of the principal owners of the works. He is said to have devised "a new blowing apparatus," by the aid of which he contrived to blow "all the fires, both of the forges and furnaces, so as to render unnecessary the use of wheels, cylinders, or any other kind of bellows." This apparatus was undoubtedly the *trompe*, or water-blast, but Mr. Hill did not invent it, nor was he the first in this country to use it. The statement, which Bishop quotes from some unknown authority, is, however, valuable, as it contains one of very few references to the use of the *trompe* in blowing a blast furnace in this country that have come under our notice. Bishop says that other iron works soon followed those of Mr. Hill, and that "they were erected in different places, including several in the mountain district of Washington, where iron, the only article made for sale to any extent, was manufactured, at the beginning of this century, as cheap and good as the imported."

In 1810 Tench Coxe enumerates two bloomaries in Spartanburg county, four in Pendleton county, two in Greenville county, and one in York county—nine in all. He also mentions one small nailery and one small steel furnace in the state. He makes no reference to blast furnaces.

Scrivenor mentions the following iron enterprises in South Carolina as existing apparently about 1815: "On Allison's creek, in York district, there are a forge, a furnace, a rolling mill for making sheet iron, and a nail manufactory. On Middle Tiger river are iron works on a small scale; also on the Enoree river and Rudy river, on the north fork of Saluda river, on George's creek, and on Twenty-six-mile creek. In 1802 an air-furnace was erected on a neck of land between Cooper and Ashley rivers, where good castings are made." (York district is the same as York county, the subdivisions of South Carolina having been known as districts down to 1868.)

In 1856 South Carolina had eight furnaces—one in York, one in Union, and six in Spartanburg county. They are described by Lesley. Four of these furnaces were then in operation, producing in the year named 1,506 tons of charcoal iron, but three others had been "out of repair for twenty years," and the remaining furnace had been abandoned. In 1856 there were also three small rolling mills in the state—one on Pacolet river, in Spartanburg county; one on Broad river, in Union county; and one on the same river, in York county. At the first two of these mills dry wood was used in the puddling and heating furnaces. In 1856 the three mills made 1,210 tons of bar iron and nails. In the same year there were also in South Carolina two bloomaries—one connected with the rolling mill in Union county, and the other connected with the rolling mill in York county. Their joint product was 640 tons of blooms. But South Carolina no longer makes iron. Every iron-producing establishment in the state is to-day silent, and has been silent for many years, and all are in a more or less dilapidated condition. South Carolina furnishes the only instance in the history of the country of a state having wholly abandoned the manufacture of iron.

THE EARLY MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN GEORGIA.

Georgia is the last of the original thirteen colonies whose iron history remains to be noticed. Unlike its sister colonies, however, Georgia has no colonial iron history. It was the last of the thirteen to be settled, and it was not until within a few years of the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle that the few settlements on the coast began to experience even moderate prosperity. After the close of the Revolution the settlement of the interior was for many years retarded by difficulties with the Indians, and it was not until 1838 that the Cherokees were induced to surrender their claims to a portion of the territory of the state. It will be seen that, under the circumstances which have been mentioned, the manufacture of iron in Georgia was destined to be the result entirely of comparatively modern enterprise.

In 1810 there was a bloomary in Warren county, a forge in Elbert county, and a nailery in Chatham county. These enterprises were on or near the Atlantic coast, and were doubtless among the first of their kind in the state, if they were not, indeed, the very first. Sequee bloomary forge, three miles south of Clarksville, in Habersham county, was built about 1830, and abandoned about 1835. Hodge's forge, in the same county, was probably built at an earlier date. Lesley says of it: "Situation unknown; history unknown; abandoned very long ago." The coast sections of Georgia did not possess ample resources for the manufacture of iron. No iron industry exists there to-day.

Old bloomary forges in Cass county, now Bartow county, were built as follows: Etowah, No. 1, in 1838; Etowah, No. 2, in 1841; Allatoona, about 1846. Ivy Log bloomary, in Union county, was built about 1839. Aliculsie bloomary, in Murray county, was built about 1843. A bloomary was built on Armuchy creek, in Walker county, about 1848. Lookout bloomary, in Dade county, was built at an earlier day. All of these enterprises were abandoned before 1856, in which year, however, several other bloomaries of more recent origin were in operation. In 1880 only two bloomaries in the state were reported to be in use. One forge, at Allatoona, made blooms from scrap iron in that year.

The first furnace in Georgia of which we have any account was Sequee furnace, built prior to 1832, near Clarksville, in Habersham county, and abandoned in 1837. Etowah furnace, on Stamp creek, in Cass county, now Bartow county, was built in 1837, abandoned in 1844, and torn down in 1850. A new furnace, built by its side in 1844, is now in ruins. Allatoona furnace, in Cass county, built in 1844; Union furnace, in the same county, built in 1852; Lewis furnace, in the same county, built about 1847; and Cartersville furnace, in the same county, built in 1852, have been abandoned. Clear Creek furnace, in Walker county, built about 1852, and rebuilt in 1857, has also been abandoned. All of these were charcoal furnaces. Of the furnaces existing in Georgia in 1880 Bartow county contained five charcoal furnaces and two coke furnaces—seven in all. Of these, the two Bear Mountain charcoal furnaces, built in 1842, were the oldest. Four other furnaces in the state were situated in Polk, Floyd, and Dade counties—two in Polk and one in Floyd using charcoal, and one in Dade using coke. Rising Fawn furnace, in Dade county, is 63 feet high by 16 feet wide at the boshes, and was the first furnace in the United States to use the Whitwell hot-blast stove, blowing in for the first time on June 18, 1875.

Georgia had two rolling mills in 1859—Etowah, in Cass county, built about 1849, and Gate City, at Atlanta, built in 1858. It is a curious fact that the state had just two rolling mills twenty-one years later, in 1880,—Atlanta, built in 1865, and Rome, built in 1869. The latter has been idle for several years. Lesley, in 1859, thus describes the Etowah rolling mill and its blast furnace and other connections, situated on the Etowah river: "This property has been building up and developing for twelve years. On it there has been expended $250,000. It contains a rolling mill, nail and spike factory, and all necessary apparatus; a blast furnace and foundry, with full equipment; a wheat mill (150 to 250 bushels per day), warehouse, cooper-house, hotel, and operative houses, two corn grist mills, two saw mills, and a coal mine; all using not one-tenth of the water-power on the premises. River 600 feet wide. Iron ore and wood are abundant. It is on the metamorphic rocks of the gold and copper belt, both minerals being found on it," etc.

Notwithstanding the decadence of its bloomaries, and the slow progress it has made in building up a rolling-mill industry, Georgia possesses to-day a very promising blast-furnace industry, which has been almost wholly rehabilitated during the past decade.

THE EARLY MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN KENTUCKY.

The first iron enterprise in Kentucky is said by Lesley to have been Slate furnace, erected by government troops in 1791 on Slate creek, a branch of Licking river, in Bath county, then Bourbon. It was successfully operated until 1838. This is the only furnace in Kentucky whose history can be definitely traced back to the last century. It will be remembered that Jefferson, in the extract from his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, already quoted, says that there were iron mines "on Kentucky, between the Cumberland and Barren rivers," and also "between Cumberland and Tanissee." It is probable that about the year 1800 there were a few bloomaries in eastern Kentucky, to supply local wants for bar iron, and possibly Slate furnace was not the only furnace that supplied castings to the Kentucky pioneers in the last century.

The original of the following memorandum was handed to the editor of the Portsmouth (Ohio) *Tribune* in 1880 by Mr. L. C. Robinson. It refers to a furnace in Kentucky called Bourbon, but which was probably the same as Slate furnace.

KENTUCKY, *ss:* Memorandum of an Agreement made and Concluded upon this day between John Cockey Owings & Co., in Iron Works at the *Bourbon* Furnace of the one part, and Robert Williams (potter) of the other part. Witnesseth that the aforesaid Company doth this day agree to give the said Williams five pounds p month for three months' work and to find him provisions during the time he shall work until the three months are expired, and said Company doth further agree, in case the furnace is not ready to blow before or at the expiration of the three months, if the water will admit, or as soon as the water will admit after that time, to give him p month as much as he can make in a month at the potting Business for such time as said Furnace may not be Ready to put in Blast—as witness our hands this second day of June, 1793.

JN. COCKEY OWINGS,
WALTER BEALL,
CHRIST GEEENUP.

Test: JNO. MOCKBEE.

Lesley says that Slate furnace "was run by Colonel Owing," and that it went out of blast in 1838. The name of Bourbon furnace indicates its location in Bourbon county, and it is hardly probable that there were two furnaces in this county as early as 1793.

The term "potter" was applied to the molder, who cast pots, kettles, etc., from the melted iron which was

taken direct from the furnace and poured into molds. Colonel Christopher Greenup afterwards became the third governor of Kentucky, serving from 1804 to 1808, and it was in his honor that Greenup county was so named.

For a number of years after 1800 the iron industry of Kentucky made but slow progress. Tench Coxe in 1810 mentions only four furnaces and three forges. One furnace was in Estill, one in Wayne, and two were in Montgomery county. One of the forges was in Estill, one in Wayne, and one in Montgomery county. About 1815 there were four nail factories at Lexington, making 70 tons of nails yearly.

About 1815 Richard Deering, a farmer of Greenup county, smelted in a cupola the first iron ore used in the Hanging Rock district of Kentucky. His experiment with the cupola proving to be successful, he took into partnership David and John Trimble, and these three persons erected as early as 1817 the first blast furnace in the district. It was called Argillite, and was located in Greenup county, about six miles southwest of Greenupsburg, upon the left bank of Little Sandy river. The stack, which was 25 feet high and 6 feet wide at the boshes, was cut in a cliff of black slate—hence the name, Argillite. Lesley says: "It was not a structure, but an excavation in the solid slate rock of the cliff, the archway below being excavated to meet it." This furnace was operated until 1837, when it was abandoned, but its product was always small.

The next furnace in this district appears to have been Pactolus, built by Ward & McMurtry in 1824, in Carter county, on the Little Sandy river, above Argillite furnace. It also was abandoned about 1837. A forge was connected with this furnace. The next iron enterprise in the district is said to have been Steam furnace, in Greenup county, situated about three miles from the Ohio river and five miles from Greenupsburg. It was built in 1824 by Leven Shreeves & Brother, and was operated with steam. It was abandoned after 1860. Enterprise furnace, on Tygart's creek, in Greenup county, was built in 1826, but Richard Deering is said to have erected a forge of the same name, on the same creek, in 1824. Bellefonte furnace, on Hood's creek, two and a half miles southwest of Ashland, in Boyd county, was built in 1826 by A. Paull, George Poague, and others, and was the first furnace in this county. It is still in operation.

Between 1817 and 1834 at least thirteen furnaces were built in Greenup, Carter, and Boyd counties. One of the earliest of these was Camp Branch, or Farewell, situated on Little Sandy river, fourteen miles from Greenupsburg, near the Carter county line, built by David and John Trimble. Subsequent to 1834 about fifteen other charcoal furnaces were built in these three counties and in Lawrence county. Many of the charcoal furnaces of this district have been abandoned. A few excellent bituminous coal and coke furnaces have, however, been erected in late years. Notwithstanding these additions to its furnace capacity, this district is not now so prominent in the manufacture of iron as it has been.

About 1830 there were a dozen forges in Greenup, Estill, Edmonson, and Crittenden counties, all of which, with one exception, were abandoned before 1850. Two forges were built below Eddyville, in Lyon county, about 1840. All of the forges mentioned refined pig iron into blooms, many of which found a market at Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Kentucky rolling mills. There is now only one forge in the state—Red river, in Estill county, and it is not active. The few bloomaries that once existed in Kentucky were abandoned early in this century.

In addition to the iron enterprises in the Hanging Rock region of Kentucky, furnaces were built before 1860 in several of the middle and western counties of the state—in Bath, Russell, Bullitt, Nelson, Muhlenburg, Lyon, Crittenden, Trigg, Calloway, and Livingston counties. In this period eight rolling mills were also built in various sections. The period from about 1825 to 1860 witnessed great activity in the development of the iron industry of Kentucky. Since the close of the civil war this activity has been maintained, but it cannot be said that the state has of late devoted that attention to the manufacture of iron which its position and resources would seem to invite. It was seventh in the list of iron-producing states in 1870, and eleventh in 1880. Of twenty-two furnaces in the state in 1880 eighteen used charcoal, the others using bituminous coal. In the same year there were eight rolling mills—two at Covington, two at Newport, two at Louisville, one at Ashland, and one in Lyon county; there were also two steel works in the state. The first rolling mill in Kentucky appears to have been built at Covington in 1829, a portion of its machinery having been obtained from the dismantled Union rolling mill at Pittsburgh. Ashland, in Boyd county, has recently become prominent as an iron center.

THE EARLY MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN TENNESSEE.

The first settlers of Tennessee erected iron works within its limits soon after the close of the Revolution Bishop says that a bloomary was built in 1790 at Emeryville, in Washington county. At Elizabethton, on Doe river, in Carter county, a bloomary was built about 1795. Wagner's bloomary, on Roane creek, in Johnson county, is said to have been built in the same year. A bloomary was also erected on Camp creek, in Greene county, in 1797. Two bloomaries in Jefferson county—the Mossy creek forge, ten miles north of Dandridge, and Dumpling forge, five miles west of Dandridge—were built in the same year. About the same time, if not earlier, David Ross, the proprietor of iron works in Campbell county, Virginia, erected a large furnace and forge at the junction of the two forks of the Holston river, in Sullivan county, near the Virginia line, on the "great road from Knoxville to Philadelphia." Bishop states an interesting fact in the following words: "Boats of 25 tons burden could ascend to Ross's iron works, nearly 1,000 miles above the mouth of the Tennessee. At Long Island, a short distance

above, on the Holston, where the first permanent settlement in Tennessee was made in 1775, boats were built to transport iron and castings made in considerable quantities at these works, with other produce, to the lower settlements and New Orleans." A bloomary was built about 1795 below the mouth of the Watauga, and another at the same time about twenty-five miles above the mouth of French Broad river and thirty miles above Knoxville.

All of the above-mentioned enterprises were in East Tennessee. In West Tennessee iron was also made in the last decade of the last century. Nashville was founded in 1780, and a few years later iron ore was discovered about thirty miles west of the future city. Between 1790 and 1795 Cumberland furnace was erected on Iron fork of Barton's creek, in Dickson county, seven miles northwest of Charlotte. This furnace was rebuilt in 1825, and was in operation in 1880. Dickson county and its near neighbors, Stewart and Montgomery counties, afterwards became very prominent in the manufacture of charcoal pig iron. Other counties in the same section of the state have also, but in a less conspicuous degree, made iron in charcoal furnaces. The first furnace in Montgomery county was probably Yellow Creek, fourteen miles southwest of Clarksville, built in 1802.

The iron industry of Tennessee made steady progress after the opening of the present century. Both furnaces and bloomaries multiplied rapidly. In 1856 Lesley enumerated over seventy-five forges and bloomaries, seventy-one furnaces, and four rolling mills in Tennessee, each of which had been in operation at some period after 1790. Of the furnaces, twenty-nine were in East Tennessee, and forty-two in Middle and West Tennessee. Of the latter, fourteen were in Stewart county, twelve in Montgomery, seven in Dickson, two in Hickman, two in Perry, two in Decatur, two in Wayne, and one in Hardin county. There were at one time forty-one furnaces on the Cumberland river in Tennessee and Kentucky. The furnaces in East Tennessee were mainly in Sullivan and Carter counties—Sullivan having five and Carter seven, but Johnson, Washington, Greene, Cocke, Sevier, Monroe, Hamilton, Claiborne, Campbell, Grainger, and Union counties each had one or two furnaces, while Roane county had three. There was a very early furnace in Polk county, which is not noted by Lesley but is mentioned by Bishop. The forges and bloomaries were mainly located in East Tennessee. Johnson county contained fifteen, Carter ten, Sullivan six, Washington three, Greene ten, Campbell seven, Blount four, Roane seven, Rhea three, and a few other counties one and two each. Nearly all of these were bloomaries. In West Tennessee there were less than a dozen refinery forges, and one or two bloomaries. The forges of West Tennessee, like those of Kentucky, were mainly employed from about 1825 to 1860 in the manufacture of blooms for rolling mills, many of which were sold to mills in the Ohio valley. Most of the furnaces, forges, and bloomaries enumerated by Lesley have long been abandoned. There still remain in Tennessee twenty charcoal furnaces and about the same number of forges and bloomaries. There were also in the state in 1880 five bituminous furnaces—all of recent origin, four rolling mills, and two steel works. Cumberland rolling mill, on the left bank of the Cumberland river, in Stewart county, was built in 1829, and was probably the first rolling mill in the state. It was the only rolling mill in Tennessee as late as 1856.

Since the close of the civil war Chattanooga has become the most prominent iron center in Tennessee, having several iron enterprises of its own and others in the vicinity. Prior to the war Bluff furnace had been built in 1854 to use charcoal, and at the beginning of the war, in 1861, S. B. Lowe commenced the erection of the Vulcan rolling mill, to roll bar iron. This mill was not finished in 1863, when it was burned by the Union forces. Mr. Lowe rebuilt the mill in 1866. It is now owned and operated by the Powell Iron and Nail Company. In 1864 a rolling mill to reroll iron rails was erected by the United States Government, under the supervision of John Fritz, then superintendent of the Cambria iron works. It is now owned and operated by the Roane Iron Company. The first open-hearth steel made in any southern state was made by the Siemens-Martin process at Chattanooga, by this company, on the 6th day of June, 1878. Lookout rolling mill was built by the Tennessee Iron and Steel Company in 1876, and was started in October of that year. Lewis Scofield was at the time the president of the company. The prominence of Chattanooga as an iron center is partly due to the excellent bituminous coal which is found in the neighborhood, and partly to its superior transportation facilities.

Tennessee is destined to become much more prominent in the manufacture of iron than it has ever been. It will owe this prominence largely to the abundance of good bituminous coal which it possesses, but largely also to the improvements in the manufacture of charcoal pig iron which have already been adopted in many instances, and which are certain to be generally adopted at an early day. Of the good quality of Tennessee ores nothing needs to be said.

PRIMITIVE CHARACTER OF THE IRON WORKS OF NORTH CAROLINA AND TENNESSEE.

The establishment at an early day of so many charcoal furnaces and ore bloomaries in western North Carolina and East Tennessee—sections of our country remote from the sea-coast and from principal rivers—is an interesting fact in the iron history of the country. The people who built these furnaces and bloomaries were not only bold and enterprising, but they appear to have been born with an instinct for making iron. Wherever they went they seem to have searched for iron ore, and having found it their small charcoal furnaces and bloomaries soon followed.
states in the Union have shown in their early history more intelligent appreciation of the value of an iron indu

than North Carolina and Tennessee, and none have been more prompt to establish it. It is true that their aim has been mainly to supply their own wants, but this is a praiseworthy motive, and people are not to be found fault with if a lack of capital and of means of transportation prevents them from cultivating a commercial spirit.

The enterprise of the early ironworkers of western North Carolina and East Tennessee assumes a picturesque aspect when viewed in connection with the primitive methods of manufacture which were employed by them, and which have been continued in use until the present day. Their charcoal furnaces were blown through one tuyere with wooden "tubs" adjusted to attachments which were slow in motion, and which did not make the best use of the water-power that was often insufficiently supplied by mountain streams of limited volume. A ton or two of iron a day, in the shape of pigs or castings, was a good yield. The bloomaries, with scarcely an exception, were furnished with the *trompe*, or water-blast,—a small stream with a suitable fall supplying both the blast for the fires and the power which turned the wheel that moved the hammer. Of cast-iron cylinders, steam-power, two tuyeres, and many other improvements in the charcoal-iron industry these people knew but little, and that little was mainly hearsay. They were pioneers and frontiersmen in every sense; from the great world of invention and progress they were shut out by mountains and streams and hundreds of miles of unsubdued forest. It is to their credit, and it should not be forgotten, that they diligently sought to utilize the resources which they found under their feet, and that they were not discouraged from undertaking a difficult task because the only means for its accomplishment of which they had any knowledge were crude in conception and often difficult to obtain.

It is a curious fact that the daring men who pushed their way into the wilds of western North Carolina and East Tennessee in the last century, and who set up their small furnaces and bloomaries when forts yet took the place of hamlets, founded an iron industry which still retains many of the primitive features that at first characterized it. There are to-day in Tennessee about two dozen bloomaries, and in North Carolina a dozen or more, which are in all respects the counterparts in construction of those which the pioneers established. Nearly every one of these bloomaries is to-day blown with the *trompe*, and in all other respects they are as barren of modern appliances as if the world's iron industry and the world itself had stood still for a hundred years. They are fitfully operated, as the wants of their owners or of the neighboring farmers and blacksmiths require, or as the supply of water for the *trompes* and hammers will permit. They furnish their respective neighborhoods with iron for horseshoes, wagon-tires, and harrow-teeth. Mr. J. B. Killebrew, of Nashville, informs us that throughout the counties of Johnson and Carter, in Tennessee, where many of these bloomaries are located, bar iron is used as currency. He says: "Iron is taken in exchange for shoes, coffee, sugar, calico, salt, and domestic and other articles used by the people of the country. It is considered a legal tender in the settlement of all dues and liabilities. This bar iron, after being collected by the merchants, is sent out and sold in Knoxville, Bristol, and other points affording a market."

The explanation of the survival in this day and in this country of primitive methods of making iron which have long been abandoned by progressive communities lies in the fact that the environments which hedged about the pioneers of western North Carolina and East Tennessee have never been broken down, and have been only slightly modified. Few of the mountains and streams and forests of these sections have been tunneled, or bridged, or traversed by modern means of communication. The iron horse has made but slow progress in bringing this part of our country into association with other sections. Cut off by their isolated situation and their poverty from all intimate relations with the outside world, the pioneers we have mentioned are not to be blamed for not adopting modern methods and for clinging to the customs of their fathers. They are rather to be praised for the efforts they have made to help themselves.

But old things must pass away, even in the iron industry of North Carolina and East Tennessee. At Chattanooga, Rockwood, Oakdale, Knoxville, South Pittsburg, and Cowan the transformation has already commenced. Before this century closes the people of whom we have been writing will wonder that the old ways of making iron stayed with them so long.

There are a few ore bloomaries still left in southwestern Virginia which are similar in all respects to those of western North Carolina and East Tennessee, and which are used for precisely similar purposes. But the manufacture of iron in bloomaries was never relatively so prominent a branch of the iron industry of Virginia as of the other two states mentioned.

THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN ALABAMA.

The earliest furnace in Alabama mentioned by Lesley was built about 1818, a few miles west of Russellville, in Franklin county, and abandoned in 1827. This unsuccessful venture appears to have had a dispiriting effect on other schemes to build furnaces in Alabama, as we do not hear of the erection of any for many years after it was abandoned. A furnace was built at Polksville, in Calhoun county, in 1843; one at Round Mountain, in Cherokee county, in 1852; and Shelby furnace at Shelby, in Shelby county, in 1848. These were all charcoal furnaces, and were the only ones in Alabama enumerated by Lesley in 1856. The total product in that year of the three last-named furnaces was 1,495 tons. Shelby furnace was built by Horace Ware, who many years afterwards added a small foundry and a small mill for rolling cotton-ties and bar iron. The furnace was burned in 1858, but was

immediately rebuilt. The mill was commenced in 1859, and on the 11th of April, 1860, the first iron was rolled. It was burned in April, 1865, by General Wilson's command of Union troops, and has not been rebuilt.

Alabama had a bloomary two and a half miles southwest of Montevallo, in Shelby county, in 1825; several bloomaries in Bibb county between 1830 and 1840; one in Talladega county in 1842; two in Calhoun county in 1843; and others in various counties at later periods. In 1856 seventeen forges and bloomaries, mostly the latter, were mentioned as having been built at various periods prior to that year, about one-half of which were then in operation, producing 252 tons of blooms and bar iron. Since 1856 all of the forges and bloomaries of Alabama have gradually disappeared. Most of them were blown with the *trompe*, and the remainder with wooden "tubs."

It will be observed that as late as 1856 Alabama possessed a very small iron industry. During the civil war several new iron enterprises were undertaken. A furnace in Sanford county was built in 1861; Cornwall furnace, at Cedar Bluff, in Cherokee county, was built in 1862; a second Shelby furnace, in Shelby county, was built in 1863; Alabama furnace, in Talladega county, was built in 1863, burned by General Wilson in April, 1865, and rebuilt in 1873. Two furnaces and a small rolling mill were built at Brierfield, in Bibb county, in 1863 and 1864. All of the furnaces were built to use charcoal. The Brierfield rolling mill was first used for rolling bar iron and rails. In 1863 or early in 1864 it was sold to the Confederate government, by which it was operated until 1865, when it was burned by the Union troops under General Wilson. It was rebuilt after the war, and for some time was used to roll bar iron and cotton-ties, principally the latter. After having been idle for several years this mill is again in operation.

Since the close of the civil war the attention of northern capitalists has been attracted to the large deposits of rich ores in Alabama, and several new furnaces, with modern improvements, have been built by them, some to use charcoal and others to use coke. Most of these furnaces are now in operation. Two new rolling mills have also been built in Alabama since the war—one at Helena, in Shelby county, built in 1872, and one at Birmingham, in Jefferson county, built in 1880.

The existence of bituminous coal in Alabama was first observed in 1834 by Dr. Alexander Jones, of Mobile, but little was done to develop the ample coal resources of the state until after the close of the civil war, when it was found that the coal in the neighborhood of Birmingham and at other places would produce excellent coke for blast furnaces, and that at least two coal fields—the Black Warrior and Coosa—were so extensive as to set at rest all apprehension concerning a constant supply of coal for a long period of time. These discoveries, joined to the possession of an abundant supply of good ores, at once gave Alabama prominence as a state which would before many years boast a large iron industry, and this promise is now being fulfilled.

EARLY IRON ENTERPRISES IN OHIO.

The beginning of the iron industry of Ohio is cotemporary with the admission of the state into the Union. It was admitted in 1802, and in 1803 its first furnace, Hopewell, was commenced by Daniel Heaton, and in 1804 it was finished. (The name of Daniel Heaton was afterwards changed by act of assembly to Dan Eaton.) The furnace stood on Yellow creek, about one and a quarter miles from its junction with the Mahoning river, in the township of Poland, in Mahoning county. On the same stream, about three-fourths of a mile from its mouth, and on the farm on which the furnace of the Struthers Furnace Company now stands, in the village of Struthers, another furnace was built in 1806 by Robert Montgomery and John Struthers. This furnace was called Montgomery. Thomas Struthers writes: "These furnaces were of about equal capacity, and would yield about two and a half or three tons each per day. The metal was principally run into molds for kettles, bake-ovens, flat-irons, stoves, andirons, and such other articles as the needs of a new settlement required, and any surplus into pigs and sent to the Pittsburgh market." The ore was obtained in the neighborhood. Hopewell furnace is said by Mr. Struthers to have had a rocky bluff for one of its sides. It was in operation in 1807, but soon afterwards it was blown out finally. Montgomery furnace was in operation until 1812, when, Mr. Struthers says, "the men were drafted into the war, and it was never started again." This furnace stood "on the north side of Yellow creek, in a hollow in the bank." We are informed by Hon. John M. Edwards, of Youngstown, that Hopewell furnace was sold by Eaton to Montgomery, Clendenin & Co. about 1807, who were then the owners of Montgomery furnace—John Struthers having sold his interest, or part of it, to David Clendenin in 1807, and Robert Alexander and James Mackey having about the same time become part owners.

The above-mentioned iron enterprises were the first in Ohio, and, as will be observed, they were both on the Western Reserve. There were other early iron enterprises on the Reserve. At Nilestown, now Niles, in Trumbull county, as we are informed by Colonel Charles Whittlesey, of Cleveland, James Heaton built a forge in 1809, for the manufacture of bar iron from "the pig of the Yellow Creek furnace"—Montgomery furnace. "This forge produced the first hammered bars in the state." It continued in operation until 1838. About 1812 James Heaton built a furnace at Nilestown, near the mouth of Mosquito creek, where the Union school building now stands. It was called Mosquito Creek furnace, and for many years used bog ore, the product being stoves and other castings. It was in operation until 1856, when it was abandoned.

About 1816 Aaron Norton built a furnace at Middlebury, near Akron, in Summit county, and in 1819 Asaph Whittlesey built a forge on the Little Cuyahoga, near Middlebury. A furnace at Tallmadge, in the same county, was built about the same time. These two furnaces were operated until about 1835.

The beginning of the iron industry in the counties on Lake Erie probably dates from 1825, when Arcole furnace was built in Madison township, in the present county of Lake, by Root & Wheeler, and Concord furnace, in the same county, was built by Fields & Stickney. Geauga furnace, one mile north of Painesville, in Lake county, and Railroad furnace, at Perry, in Geauga county, were built about 1825—the former by an incorporated company and the latter by Thorndike & Drury, of Boston. During the next ten or twelve years several other furnaces were built near Lake Erie, in Ashtabula, Cuyahoga, Erie, Huron, and Lorain counties. At a still later period other charcoal furnaces were built in the lake counties. All of these lake furnaces, writes John Wilkeson in 1858, "were blown some eight months each year, and made about 30 tons per week of metal from the bog ore found in swales and swamps near, and generally to the north of, a ridge of land which was probably once the shore of Lake Erie, found extending, with now and then an interval, along from the west boundary of the state of New York to the Huron river in Ohio. The want of wood for charcoal, consequent upon the clearing up of the land, has occasioned the stoppage of most of these works. For a long time the settlers upon the shores of Lake Erie and in the state of Michigan were supplied with their stoves, potash-kettles, and other castings by these works."

All of the above-mentioned iron enterprises were on the Western Reserve. Just outside of its limits Gideon Hughes built a furnace in 1807 or 1808, on the Middle fork of Little Beaver creek, one and a half miles northwest of New Lisbon, in Columbiana county. It was in operation in 1808 and 1809. It was first called Rebecca of New Lisbon, but was afterwards named Dale furnace. Attached to this furnace a few years after its erection was a forge, which was used for making bar iron. John Frost, of New Lisbon, to whom we are indebted for this information, also writes us that "some two or three miles up the same stream Mr. Hughes and Joshua Malin erected a rolling mill in 1822, to which a company of Englishmen, said to be from Pittsburgh, not long afterwards added nail-making machinery. In addition to manufacturing bar iron, these works placed large quantities of nails in the market. This concern was more or less active till 1832, when the great flood of waters early in that year destroyed it, and it was never rebuilt." New Lisbon is located about twelve miles from the mouth of Little Beaver creek, which empties into the Ohio river.

Soon after the beginning of the iron industry on the Western Reserve the manufacture of iron was undertaken in some of the interior and southern counties of the state. Bishop says that Moses Dillon, who had been associated with Colonel Meason and John Gibson in the building of Union furnace, in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, in 1793, "afterwards erected a forge on Licking river, near Zanesville, Ohio, possibly the first in the state." This enterprise was preceded or immediately succeeded by a furnace, and the date of its erection is said to have been 1808, but it may have been a few years later. It was located "at the falls of Licking," four miles northwest of Zanesville, in Muskingum county, and its capacity was about one ton per day. It was used to produce castings, as well as pig iron for the forge. Lesley says that this furnace was not abandoned "until 1850 or later." The forge was also operated until about 1850. The furnace and forge were known as Dillon's, and were widely celebrated.

Mary Ann furnace, ten miles northeast of Newark, in Licking county, was built about 1816 by Dr. Brice and David Moore. It was burned down about 1850. In Tuscarawas county the Zoar Community owned two early charcoal furnaces. One of these, called Tuscarawas, was built about 1830 by Christmas, Hazlett & Co., and was afterwards sold to the Community; the other, called Zoar, was built about the same time by the Community. Both furnaces were blown out finally before 1850.

Three furnaces were built in Adams county between 1811 and 1816. The first of these, Brush Creek, on the stream of that name, and twelve miles from the Ohio river, was operated in 1813 by James Rodgers. It was probably built in 1811, its builders being Andrew Ellison, Thomas James, and Archibald Paull. It was in operation as late as 1837, when it produced 200 tons of iron in 119 days. On the same stream, twenty-two miles from the Ohio, was Marble furnace, built in 1816. Another furnace, known as Old Steam, was built in 1814. This furnace is said to have been built by James Rodgers, Andrew Ellison, and the Pittsburgh Steam Engine Company. Thomas W. Means informs us that "the first blast furnace run by steam in southern Ohio, if not in the United States, was built by James Rodgers in Adams county about 1814." This reference is to Old Steam furnace. "Its product was less than two tons of iron a day. Brush Creek furnace, in the same county, and other furnaces of that period which were run by water, hardly averaged one ton of iron a day." Marble and Old Steam furnaces were abandoned about 1826. Lesley mentions three forges in Adams county—Steam, at Old Steam furnace; Scioto, on the Little Scioto; and Brush Creek, probably connected with Brush Creek furnace. The date of the erection of these forges is not given, but they were doubtless built soon after the three Adams county furnaces. They were all abandoned many years ago. There is now no iron industry in Adams county.

In the chapter relating to Kentucky the beginning of the iron industry in the Hanging Rock region has been noted. This celebrated iron district embraces Greenup, Boyd, Carter, and Lawrence counties in Kentucky, and Lawrence, Jackson, Gallia, and Vinton counties and part of Scioto county in Ohio. Just north of the Ohio portion of this district is the newly-developed Hocking Valley iron district, embracing Hocking and several other counties. The Hanging Rock district takes its name from a projecting cliff upon the north side of the Ohio river, situated

back of the town of Hanging Rock, which is three miles below Ironton, in Lawrence county. The first furnace in the Ohio part of the Hanging Rock district was Union furnace, situated a few miles northwest of Hanging Rock, built in 1826 and 1827 by John Means, John Sparks, and James Rodgers, the firm's name being James Rodgers & Co. Franklin furnace was the second on the Ohio side. It stood sixteen miles east of Portsmouth and half a mile from the Ohio river, in Scioto county, and was built in 1827 by the Rev. Daniel Young and others. The next furnace was Pine Grove, on Sperry's fork of Pine creek, back of Hanging Rock, and five miles from the Ohio river, in Lawrence county, built in 1828 by Robert Hamilton and Andrew Ellison. In the same year Scioto furnace, in Scioto county, fifteen miles north of Portsmouth, was built by William Salters. From this time forward blast furnaces increased rapidly on the Ohio side of the district, as well as on the Kentucky side. From 1826 to 1880 the whole number built on the Ohio side was about sixty, and on the Kentucky side about thirty. All of the early furnaces were built to use charcoal, but timber becoming scarce coke was substituted at some of them, while others were abandoned. In late years a few furnaces have been built in the district expressly to use coke or raw coal. In 1880 there were on the Ohio side thirty-one charcoal furnaces and seventeen bituminous coal or coke furnaces.

At Vesuvius furnace, on Storm's creek, in Lawrence county, Ohio, six miles northeast of Ironton, the hot-blast was successfully applied in 1836 by John Campbell and others, William Firmstone putting up the apparatus.

The Hanging Rock district, on both sides of the Ohio, has produced many eminent ironmasters, and its iron resources have been developed with great energy. Most prominent among its ironmasters of the generation now passing away are John Campbell, of Ironton, and Thomas W. Means, of Hanging Rock. Mr. Campbell, who is a native of Brown county, Ohio, was born in 1808. In connection with others he has built eleven furnaces in the Hanging Rock district. He projected the town of Ironton and gave it its name, and also assisted in the founding of Ashland, Kentucky, and in building its railroad. Like most of the ironmasters of this district he is of Scotch-Irish extraction, his ancestors having removed in 1612 from Inverary, in Argyleshire, Scotland, to the neighborhood of Londonderry, in Ulster, Ireland. Their descendants removed in 1729 and 1739 to Augusta county, Virginia; thence, in 1790, to Bourbon county, Kentucky; and thence, in 1798, to that part of Adams county, Ohio, which is now embraced in Brown county. Mr. Means was born in South Carolina in 1803, and is also of Scotch-Irish origin. His father, John Means, was an owner of one of the furnaces and forges in Adams county, Ohio. He was born in Union district, South Carolina, on March 14, 1770, and moved to Adams county, Ohio, in 1819, taking with him his slaves, whom he liberated. He died on his farm near Manchester, in Adams county, on March 15, 1837, and was buried in the churchyard in Manchester. Andrew Ellison, Robert Hamilton, James Rodgers, and Andrew Dempsey, now deceased, were enterprising and prominent iron manufacturers. In December, 1844, Mr. Hamilton successfully tried the experiment of stopping Pine Grove furnace, which he then owned, on Sunday, and his example has since been generally followed in the Hanging Rock region. This furnace is still active. John Campbell, Robert Hamilton, and Thomas W. Means were united in marriage with members of the Ellison family. The third generation of this family is now engaged in the iron business of southern Ohio.

In 1833 a forge was built at Hanging Rock, after which it was named, to manufacture blooms. It was owned by J. Riggs & Co., and was built under the superintendence of John Campbell and Joseph Riggs. A rolling mill was added before 1847. Both the forge and rolling mill have long been abandoned. A forge was built at Sample's Landing, fifteen miles below Gallipolis, soon after 1830, to make blooms for the Covington rolling mill. Bloom forge was built at Portsmouth, in Scioto county, in 1832, and in 1857 a rolling mill was added. A forge called Benner's, on Paint creek, near Chillicothe, in Ross county, once owned by James & Woodruff, was abandoned about 1850. There never were many forges in Ohio for refining iron, and there have been few, if any, for making bar iron directly from the ore. The first iron enterprises in the state preceded by only a few years the building of rolling mills at Pittsburgh.

The Globe rolling mill was built at Cincinnati in 1845. Joseph Kinsey writes us that it "was the first built in Cincinnati for the purpose of making general sizes of merchant iron, hoops, sheets, and plates. It was built by William Sellers and Josiah Lawrence, and was considered a great enterprise at that time. Soon afterwards a wire mill was added for the purpose of making the first wire used for the lines of telegraph extending through this country."

The foregoing details relate to what may be termed the charcoal era of the Ohio iron industry. The second stage in the development of the iron industry of this state dates from the introduction in its blast furnaces of the bituminous coal of the Mahoning valley in its raw state. This coal is known as splint, or block, coal, or as Brier Hill coal, from a locality of that name near Youngstown where it is largely mined. The first furnace in Ohio to use the new fuel was built expressly for this purpose at Lowell, in Mahoning county, in 1845 and 1846, by Wilkeson, Wilkes & Co., and it was successfully blown in on the 8th of August, 1846. The name of this furnace was Mahoning. A letter from John Wilkeson, now of Buffalo, New York, informs us that William McNair, a millwright, was the foreman who had charge of its erection. It was blown in by John Crowther, who had previously had charge of the furnaces of the Brady's Bend Iron Company, at Brady's Bend, Pennsylvania. Mr. Wilkeson and his brothers had for many years been prominent charcoal-iron manufacturers on the Western Reserve. They are of Scotch-Irish extraction. Their father was a native of Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Immediately after the successful use of uncoked coal in the furnace at Lowell many other furnaces were built in the Mahoning valley to use the new fuel, and it was also substituted for charcoal in some old furnaces. At a later

day the use of this fuel and of Connellsville coke contributed to the further development of the manufacture of pig iron in Ohio, and at a still later and very recent date the opening of the extensive coal beds of the Hocking valley and the utilization of its carbonate ores still further contributed to the same development.

The beginning of the iron industry at Youngstown, which now has within its own limits or in the immediate vicinity twelve furnaces and six rolling mills, dates from about 1835, when a charcoal furnace called Mill Creek was built on a creek of the same name, a short distance southwest of the city, by Isaac Heaton, a son of James Heaton. There was no other furnace at Youngstown until after the discovery at Lowell that the block coal of the Mahoning valley could be successfully used in the smelting of iron ore. In a recent sketch of the history of Youngstown Hon. John M. Edwards says: "In 1846 William Philpot & Co. built in the northwestern part of Youngstown, adjoining the present city, and near the canal, the second furnace in the state for using raw mineral coal as fuel. In the same year a rolling mill was built in the southeastern part of the village, and adjoining the canal, by the Youngstown Iron Company. This mill is now owned by Brown, Bonnell & Co." In a sketch of *Youngstown, Past and Present*, printed in 1875, a fuller account is given of the first bituminous furnace at that place. It was known as the Eagle furnace, and was "built in 1846 by William Philpot, David Morris, Jonathan Warner, and Harvey Sawyer, on land purchased of Dr. Henry Manning, lying between the present city limits and Brier Hill. The coal used was mined from land contiguous, leased from Dr. Manning." The second furnace at Youngstown to use raw coal was built in 1847 by Captain James Wood, of Pittsburgh. It was called Brier Hill furnace.

The proximity of the coal fields of Ohio to the rich iron ores of Lake Superior has been an important element in building up the blast-furnace industry of the state. The use of these ores in Ohio soon followed the first use in the blast furnace of the block coal of the Mahoning valley. An increase in the rolling-mill capacity of Ohio was naturally coincident with the impetus given to the production of pig iron by the use of this coal and Lake Superior ores. David Tod, afterwards governor of Ohio, bore a prominent part in the development of the coal and iron resources of the Mahoning valley.

The iron industry of Cleveland has been built up during this period, and the city is now one of the most prominent centers of iron and steel production in the country. Charles A. Otis, of Cleveland, writes us as follows concerning the first rolling mills in that city: "The first rolling mill at Cleveland was a plate mill, worked on a direct ore process, which was a great failure. It went into operation in 1854 or 1855. The mill is now owned by the Britton Iron and Steel Company. The next mill was built in 1856 by A. J. Smith and others, to reroll rails. It was called Railroad rolling mill, and is now owned by the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company. At the same time a man named Jones, with several associates, built a mill at Newburgh, six miles from Cleveland, also to reroll rails. It was afterwards operated by Stone, Chisholm & Jones, and is now owned by the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company. In 1852 I erected a steam forge to make wrought-iron forgings, and in 1859 I added to it a rolling mill to manufacture merchant bar, etc. The Union rolling mills were built in 1861 and 1862 to roll merchant bar iron."

In the list of persons connected with the development of the iron and steel industries of Cleveland the name of Henry Chisholm is most prominent. Mr. Chisholm was born at Lochgelly, in Fifeshire, Scotland, on April 27, 1822, and died at Cleveland on May 9, 1881, aged 59 years.

From 1846 to 1880 the iron industry of Ohio has made steady progress, and the state now ranks second among the iron-producing states of the Union. This was also its rank in 1870.

EARLY IRON ENTERPRISES IN INDIANA.

Indiana possessed a small charcoal-iron industry before 1850, but at what period in the present century this industry had its beginning cannot now be definitely determined. Tench Coxe makes no reference to it in 1810, but mentions one nailery in the territory, which produced in that year 20,000 pounds of nails, valued at $4,000. He does not locate this enterprise. In 1840 the census mentions a furnace in Jefferson county, one in Parke, one in Vigo, one in Vermillion, and three in Wayne county, the total product being only 810 tons of "cast iron." A forge in Fulton county, producing 20 tons of "bar iron," is also mentioned. The census of 1840, however, frequently confounds furnaces with foundries, and it is therefore possible that some of the alleged furnaces in Indiana at that period were foundries.

In 1859 Lesley enumerated five charcoal furnaces in Indiana, as follows: Elkhart, in Elkhart county, date of erection unknown; La Porte, near the town of that name, in La Porte county, built in 1848; Mishawaka, in Saint Joseph county, built about 1833; Richland, on Richland creek, in Greene county, built in 1844 by A. Downing; and Indiana, a few miles northwest of Terre Haute, in Vigo county, built in 1839. The three last named were in operation in 1857, but were abandoned about 1860. Elkhart and La Porte furnaces were idle in 1857, and probably had been abandoned at that time. Elkhart, La Porte, and Mishawaka used bog ore exclusively, and Richland used it in part; in 1857 Mishawaka was still using it. Indiana furnace used brown hematite found in the neighborhood. In a chapter on the geology of Monroe county, by George K. Greene, printed in 1881, it is stated that "nearly forty years ago an iron furnace was erected by Randall Ross, of Virginia, on the lands of George Adams, of Monroe county, on section 7, township 7, range 2 west. The investment soon proved a failure, and the furnace has long

gone to decay. The ruins of the 'old iron furnace' are to-day the mournful monument of an early spirit of enterprise that deserved a better fate." The early Indiana furnaces doubtless made more castings than pig iron.

In 1860 there was only one furnace in blast in Indiana—Richland. It was abandoned probably in that year, and from this time until 1867 no pig iron was made in Indiana. In the latter year the manufacture of pig iron in this state was revived, the development of the block-coal district in the neighborhood of Brazil, in Clay county, having led to the belief that this fuel might be profitably used in blast furnaces. Planet furnace, at Harmony, in Clay county, built in the summer of 1867, and put in blast in November of that year, was the first of eight furnaces that were built in Indiana between 1867 and 1872 to use this coal, the ores for the furnaces being mainly obtained from Missouri and Lake Superior. Five of these furnaces were in Clay county. Of the eight furnaces built, four have been abandoned and torn down since 1872, and, of the remaining four, one is now using charcoal and three are using block coal. No furnaces have been built in Indiana since 1872.

Except the solitary forge above mentioned we have no record of any forges or bloomaries having been built in Indiana at any period. The first rolling mill in the state was probably the Indianapolis mill, built by R. A. Douglas, which was completed in the autumn of 1857, and put in operation in November of the same year. Lesley in 1858 says: "The machinery and building were planned by Lewis Scofield, of Trenton, New Jersey, who also built the Wyandotte mill and is building the mill at Atlanta, Georgia." There were in 1880 nine rolling mills in Indiana, four of which were rail mills. The state contained no steel works in that year.

EARLY IRON ENTERPRISES IN ILLINOIS.

In 1839 a small charcoal furnace was built four miles northwest of Elizabethtown, in Hardin county, in the extreme southeastern part of Illinois, by Leonard White, Chalen Guard & Co. It was called Illinois. This is the first furnace in the state of which there is any record, and it probably had no predecessor. In 1853 it was purchased by C. Wolfe & Co., of Cincinnati, who tore down the stack and built a larger one in 1856, with modern additions. In 1873 this furnace, after having been out of blast for several years, was repaired, but it has not since been put in blast. A charcoal furnace called Martha was built in 1848 by Daniel McCook & Co. about two miles east of Illinois furnace. It was probably the second furnace in the state. Illinois and Martha furnaces were both in blast in 1850, but in 1860 only Illinois was in blast. Martha had not been in operation since 1856, and it probably never made any iron after that year. It has long been abandoned. These furnaces were supplied with limestone ore from the immediate neighborhood. They seem to have been the only charcoal-iron enterprises of any description that ever existed in Illinois.

In the census of 1840 mention is made of a furnace in Cook county, one in Fulton, one in Hardin, and one in Wabash county. The furnaces in Fulton and Hardin counties were idle; the furnace in Wabash county produced eight tons, and the furnace in Cook county produced 150 tons, of "cast iron." As the census of 1840 frequently confounds blast furnaces with foundries, reliance cannot be placed in the correctness of its statements concerning furnaces in Illinois. We have definitely ascertained that there was no furnace in Cook county in that year, and that the furnace with which it is credited in the census was Granger's foundry, the only one in Chicago at that time.

There appears to have been no furnace in operation in Illinois from 1860 to 1868. Soon after the close of the civil war the attention of iron manufacturers was attracted to the Big Muddy coal fields, in the southwestern part of Illinois, and to the proximity to these coal fields of the rich iron ores of Missouri. In 1868 the Grand Tower Mining, Manufacturing, and Transportation Company built two large furnaces at Grand Tower, in Jackson county, Illinois, to use the Big Muddy coal in connection with Missouri ores; and in 1871 another large furnace, called Big Muddy, was built at Grand Tower, by another company, to use the same fuel and ores. The two Grand Tower furnaces have been out of blast for several years and are now abandoned, but the Big Muddy furnace is still in blast. At East Saint Louis the Meier Iron Company built two large coke furnaces between 1873 and 1875. These furnaces are now in operation, their fuel being mainly Carbondale coke, from Jackson county, Illinois.

The iron industry at Chicago and in its vicinity properly dates from 1857, when Captain E. B. Ward, of Detroit, built the Chicago rolling mill, on the right bank of the Chicago river, "just outside of the city." This mill was built to reroll iron rails. It formed the nucleus of the present very extensive works of the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company. There was no furnace at Chicago until 1868, when two furnaces were built by the Chicago Iron Company. They are now owned by the Union Iron and Steel Company. One was blown in early in 1869, and the other late in the same year. Two furnaces were built at Chicago in 1869 by the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company. No other furnaces were built at Chicago until 1880, when seven new furnaces were undertaken, three of which were finished in that year and two in 1881. At Joliet, thirty-seven miles southwest of Chicago, the Joliet Iron and Steel Company built two furnaces in 1873. They are now owned by the Joliet Steel Company.

In 1880 there were thirteen rolling mills and steel works in Illinois, three of which were Bessemer steel works—two at Chicago and one at Joliet, and one was an open-hearth steel works at Springfield. At the beginning of 1880

there were ten blast furnaces in the state, and, as has been mentioned, three new furnaces were finished during the year and four others were undertaken. In 1880 Illinois ranked fourth among the iron and steel producing states of the Union, making a great stride since 1870, when it ranked fifteenth.

EARLY IRON ENTERPRISES IN MICHIGAN.

If we could credit the census of 1840 there were fifteen blast furnaces in Michigan in that year—one in each of the counties of Allegan, Branch, Cass, Kent, Monroe, and Oakland, two in Calhoun, two in Washtenaw, and five in Wayne county. Some of these alleged furnaces were doubtless foundries, particularly in counties lying upon or not very remote from Lake Erie, vessels upon which could bring pig iron for their use from neighboring states. Others were undoubtedly true blast furnaces, producing household and other castings from bog ores. All of the fifteen enterprises mentioned were in the southern part of the state. Their total production in 1840 was only 601 tons of "cast iron." Neither forges nor bloomaries are mentioned in the census of 1840.

From 1840 to 1850 the iron industry of Michigan certainly made no progress, and possibly declined. From 1850 to 1860 a marked improvement took place. Three new furnaces were built in the southern part of the state to use bog ore, and in the northern peninsula and at Detroit and Wyandotte a commencement was made in smelting the rich ores which had been discovered in the now celebrated Lake Superior iron-ore region. In 1859 Lesley enumerated the following bog-ore furnaces in the southern part of the state: Kalamazoo, at the city of that name, in Kalamazoo county, built in 1857 to take the place of an earlier furnace; Quincy, three miles north of the town of that name, in Branch county, built in 1855; and Branch county, one mile from Quincy furnace, built in 1854. All of these bog-ore furnaces made pig iron in 1857. It is a curious fact that furnaces to use bog ore should have been built in this country after 1850.

The development of the Lake Superior iron-ore region marks an important era in the history of the American iron trade, and the incidents attending its commencement have fortunately been preserved.

We learn from A. P. Swineford's *History of the Lake Superior Iron District* that the existence of iron ore on the southern border of Lake Superior was known to white traders with the Indians as early as 1830. The same writer further informs us that the first discovery by white men of the iron ore of this region was made by William A. Burt, a deputy surveyor of the General Government, on the 16th of September, 1844, near the eastern end of Teal lake. In June, 1845, the Jackson Mining Company was organized at Jackson, Michigan, for the purpose of exploring the mineral districts of the southern shore of Lake Superior, and in the summer of the same year this company, through the disclosures of a half-breed Indian, named Louis Nolan, and the direct agency of an old Indian chief, named Man-je-ki-jik, secured possession of the now celebrated Jackson iron mountain, near the scene of Mr. Burt's discovery. It appears, however, that the representatives of the company had not heard of Mr. Burt's discovery until they met Nolan and the Indian chief. Mr. P. M. Everett, the president of the company, was the leading spirit of the exploring party which secured possession of this valuable property. The actual discovery of Jackson mountain was made by S. T. Carr and E. S. Rockwell, members of Mr. Everett's party, who were guided to the locality by the Indian chief.

In a letter written on the 10th of November, 1845, at Jackson, Michigan, Mr. Everett, referring to the ore of Jackson mountain, says that "since coming home we have had some of it smelted, and find that it produces iron and something resembling gold—some say it is gold and copper." This smelting is not further described. In 1846 A. V. Berry, one of the Jackson Mining Company, and others, brought about 300 pounds of the ore to Jackson, and in August of that year, writes Mr. Berry, "Mr. Olds, of Cucush Prairie, who owned a forge, then undergoing repair, in which he was making iron from bog ore, succeeded in making a fine bar of iron from our ore in a blacksmith's fire—the first iron ever made from Lake Superior ore." Mr. Swineford says that "one end of this bar of iron Mr. Everett had drawn out into a knife-blade."

In 1847 the Jackson Mining Company commenced the erection of a forge on Carp river, about ten miles from its mouth, and near Jackson mountain, which was finished early in 1848, and on the 10th of February of that year the first iron made in the Lake Superior region was made at this forge by Ariel N. Barney. Mr. Swineford says that the forge, which was named after Carp river, had "eight fires, from each of which a lump was taken every six hours, placed under the hammer, and forged into blooms four inches square and two feet long, the daily product being about three tons. The first lot of blooms made at this forge—the first iron made on Lake Superior, and the first from Lake Superior ores, except the small bar made by Mr. Olds—was sold to the late E. B. Ward, and from it was made the walking-beam of the side-wheel steamer *Ocean*." The forge was kept in operation until 1854, when it was abandoned, having in the mean time "made little iron and no money."

In 1849 the Marquette Iron Company, a Worcester (Massachusetts) organization, undertook the erection of a forge at Marquette, and in July, 1850, it was finished and put in operation. Mr. Swineford says that "it started with four fires, using ores from what are now the Cleveland and Lake Superior mines." It was operated irregularly until December, 1853, when it was burned down and was not rebuilt.

The Collins Iron Company was organized in 1853, with Edward K. Collins, of New York, at its head, and in 1854 it built a forge on Dead river, about three miles northwest of Marquette, and in the fall of 1855 the manufacture

of blooms was commenced from ore obtained at the company's mines. This forge was in operation in 1858, after which time it seems to have been abandoned.

Another forge on Dead river was built in 1854 or 1855 by William G. McComber, Matthew McConnell, and J. G. Butler. The company failed in a few years, and in 1860 Stephen R. Gay erected Bancroft furnace on the site of the forge. Before 1860 every forge in Michigan appears to have been abandoned.

It will be observed that all of the first iron enterprises in the Lake Superior district were bloomary forges, the intention evidently having been to build up an iron industry similar to that of the Lake Champlain district.

The first pig iron produced in the Lake Superior region was made in 1858 by Stephen R. Gay, who then leased the forge of the Collins Iron Company and converted it in two days, at an expense of $50, into a miniature blast furnace. Mr. Gay writes to C. A. Trowbridge that this furnace was "2½ feet across the bosh, 8 feet high, and 12 inches square at the top and 15 inches square in the hearth," and would hold eight bushels of coal. He gives the following details of its first and only blast: "Began on Monday, finished and fired on Wednesday, filled with coal Thursday noon, blast turned on Friday noon, and thenceforth charged regularly with 1 bushel coal, 20 pounds of ore, and 7 pounds of limestone. Cast at six o'clock 500 pounds, and again at eight o'clock Saturday morning, half a ton in all, 92 pounds of which were forged by Mr. Eddy into an 85-pound bloom. This little furnace was run two and a half days, made 2½ tons, carrying the last eight hours 30 pounds of ore to a bushel of coal, equal to a ton of pig iron to 100 bushels of coal." These experiments were made in February.

The first regular blast furnace in the Lake Superior region was built by the Pioneer Iron Company in the present city of Negaunee, convenient to the Jackson mine. It was commenced in June, 1857, and in February, 1858, it was finished. Another stack was added in the same year. These furnaces took the name of the company. Pioneer No. 1 was put in blast in April, 1858, and Pioneer No. 2 on May 20, 1859. Both furnaces are now owned by the Iron Cliffs Company, and both were in operation in 1880. The second regular blast furnace in this region was the Collins furnace, built in 1858 by Stephen R. Gay, near the site of the Collins forge. It made its first iron on December 13 of that year. It was abandoned in 1873, owing to the failure of a supply of charcoal. Other furnaces in the Lake Superior region soon followed the erection of the Pioneer and Collins furnaces.

While these early furnaces and the few forges that have been mentioned were being built on the shore of Lake Superior two furnaces were built at or near Detroit to smelt Lake Superior ores. These were the Eureka furnace, at Wyandotte, built in 1855 by the Eureka Iron Company, of which Captain E. B. Ward was president, and put in blast in 1856; and the Detroit furnace, at Detroit, built in 1856 by the Detroit and Lake Superior Iron Manufacturing Company, of which George B. Russell was president, and put in blast in January, 1857. These furnaces and the others that have been mentioned used charcoal as fuel.

The first shipment of iron ore from the Lake Superior region was made in 1850, according to Mr. Swineford, and consisted of about five tons, "which was taken away by Mr. A. L. Crawford, of Newcastle, Pennsylvania." A part of this ore was made into blooms and rolled into bar iron. "The iron was found to be most excellent, and served to attract the attention of Pennsylvania ironmasters to this new field of supply for their furnaces and rolling mills." In 1853 three or four tons of Jackson ore were shipped to the World's Fair at New York.

The first use of Lake Superior ore in a blast furnace occurred in Pennsylvania. The important event is described in a letter to us from David Agnew, of Sharpsville, Mercer county, Pennsylvania, from which we quote as follows:

> The Sharon Iron Company, of Mercer county, Pennsylvania, about the year 1850 or 1851 purchased the Jackson mines, and, in expectation of the speedy completion of the Sault canal, commenced to open them, to construct a road to the lake, and to build docks at Marquette, expending a large sum of money in these operations. The opening of the canal was, however, unexpectedly delayed until June, 1855. Anxious to test the working qualities of this ore, the Sharon Iron Company brought, at great expense, to Erie, in the year 1853, about 70 tons of it, which was shipped by canal to Sharpsville furnace, near Sharon, owned by David and John P. Agnew. The first boat-load of ore, on its receipt, was immediately used in the furnace, partly alone and partly in mixture with native ores, and the experiment was highly successful, the furnace working well and producing an increased yield of metal, which was taken to the Sharon iron works and there converted into bar iron, nails, etc., of very superior quality. The second boat-load of ore was also brought to Sharpsville, but, having been intended to be left at the Clay furnace, owned by the Sharon Iron Company, was returned and used at that establishment.

In 1854, 1855, and 1856 Clay furnace continued the use of Lake Superior ore, most of it mixed with native ore, and used in all until August, 1856, about 400 tons. "Up to that date," as is stated by Mr. Frank Allen, its manager, "the working of it was not a success. In October, 1856, we gave the Clay furnace a general overhauling, put in a new lining and hearth, and made material changes in the construction of the same, put her in blast late in the fall, and in a few days were making a beautiful article of iron from Lake Superior ore alone." The fuel used at Sharpsville and Clay furnaces was the block coal of the Shenango valley. After 1856 other furnaces in Pennsylvania and in other states began the regular use of Lake Superior ore.

Until about 1877 the mining of iron ore in the Lake Superior region was confined to the territory in the immediate vicinity of Marquette. Since 1877, and particularly since 1879, a new iron-mining region has been developed in the northern part of Menominee county and the southern part of Marquette county, which takes its name from the former county. This region has proved to be very productive and the ore to be very desirable.

Since the discovery of iron ore in the Lake Superior region there have been built on the upper peninsula, in the

vicinity of the mines, twenty-three furnaces, of which ten have been abandoned. There have also been built at other points in the state of Michigan, to use Lake Superior ore, fifteen furnaces, of which none had been abandoned in 1880. All of these furnaces, with the exception of two at Marquette, were built to use charcoal, and the abandonment of many of them in the upper peninsula is attributable to the scarcity of timber for fuel. Michigan is, however, the first state in the Union to-day in the manufacture of charcoal pig iron, having twenty-eight furnaces, of which all but one furnace at Marquette now use charcoal when in operation. The three bog-ore furnaces in Kalamazoo and Branch counties have been abandoned.

There are now two active rolling mills in Michigan—the Eureka, formerly the Wyandotte, at Wyandotte, built in 1855, and the rolling mill of the Baugh Steam Forge Company, at Detroit, built in 1877, the forge having been built in 1870. In 1871 a rolling mill was built at Marquette, which has since been abandoned. In 1872 a rolling mill was built at Jackson, in Jackson county, but it was torn down in 1879, and the machinery removed to the mill of the Springfield Iron Company at Springfield, Illinois.

From the Marquette *Mining Journal*, edited by Mr. Swineford, we take the following statement in gross tons of the aggregate production of the Lake Superior iron-ore mines for each calendar year since the commencement of mining operations in the district.

Year.	Gross tons.	Year.	Gross tons.	Year.	Gross tons.	Year.	Gross tons.
1856 and previous	80, 319	1863	203, 055	1870	859, 507	1877	1, 025, 129
1857	25, 646	1864	247, 059	1871	813, 984	1878	1, 125, 093
1858	22, 876	1865	193, 758	1872	948, 553	1879	1, 414, 182
1859	68, 832	1866	296, 713	1873	1, 195, 234	1880	1, 987, 598
1860	114, 401	1867	465, 504	1874	935, 488	Total	15, 321, 128
1861	114, 258	1868	510, 522	1875	910, 840		
1862	124, 169	1869	639, 097	1876	993, 311		

The iron ores of Lake Superior that are not used in Michigan are mainly shipped to Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin. About one-third of all the pig iron that is now manufactured in the United States is made from these ores.

Captain Ward was the most prominent of all the iron manufacturers of Michigan, his enterprise in this respect extending to other states than his own. He was born in Canada, of Vermont parents, on December 25, 1811, and died suddenly at Detroit, on January 2, 1875.

In 1870 Michigan ranked eighth in the list of iron-producing states, and in 1880 its rank was the same.

THE EARLY MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN WISCONSIN.

In 1840 the census mentions a furnace in "Milwaukee town," which produced three tons of iron in that year. This was doubtless a small foundry. In 1859 Lesley mentions three charcoal furnaces in Wisconsin—Northwestern, or Mayville, at Mayville, in Dodge county, forty miles northwest of Milwaukee, and five miles from the Iron ridge, built in 1853 by the owners of Mishawaka furnace in Indiana, and to which a foundry was added in 1858; Ironton, at Ironton, in Sauk county, built in 1857 by Jonas Tower; and Black River, built in 1857 by a German company on the east bank of Black river, near the falls, in German county. Of these furnaces at least one, Ironton, was built to produce castings. A description of it in 1858 says: "It is a small blast furnace capable of producing about three tons of iron per day, and intended for the manufacture of stoves, castings, etc." The Ironton furnace still produces castings as well as pig iron. The Mayville furnace is also still in operation, having been rebuilt in 1872, but the Black River furnace has long been abandoned. There appear to have been no forges or bloomaries in Wisconsin in 1840, 1850, or 1860.

The furnaces which have been mentioned were all that the state could boast until 1865, when a charcoal furnace at Iron Ridge, in Dodge county, was built by the Wisconsin Iron Company. This was soon followed by several other furnaces, some of which were built to use native ores and some to use Michigan ores from Lake Superior. The Appleton Iron Company built two furnaces at Appleton, in Outagamie county, in 1871 and 1872; C. J. L. Meyer built a furnace at Fond du Lac in 1874, but it had not been put in blast down to November 15, 1881; the Fox River Iron Company built two furnaces at West Depere, in Brown county, in 1869 and 1872; the Green Bay Iron Company built a furnace at Green Bay, in the same county, in 1870; and the National Furnace Company built two furnaces at Depere, in the same county, in 1869 and 1872. All of these furnaces were built to use charcoal. In 1870 and 1871 the Milwaukee Iron Company built two large furnaces at Bay View, near Milwaukee, and in 1873 the Minerva Iron Company built a furnace at Milwaukee. These three furnaces were built to use mineral fuel and Lake Superior ores. A furnace called Richland was built in 1876 at Cazenovia, in Richland county, and was torn down in 1879. In 1880 there were fourteen furnaces in the state, eleven of which used charcoal and three used anthracite coal and coke.

Wisconsin had no rolling mill until 1868, when its first and thus far its only mill was built at Milwaukee by the Milwaukee Iron Company, of which Captain E. B. Ward was a leading member. This was from the first a large

mill, and was built to roll new iron rails. In 1874 a merchant bar mill was added. This mill and the two Bay View furnaces are now operated by the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company.

Wisconsin advanced rapidly in the manufacture of iron in the decade between 1870 and 1880, and in the latter year it ranked sixth among the iron-producing states of the Union. In 1870 it was twelfth in rank.

EARLY IRON ENTERPRISES IN MISSOURI.

Missouri has an iron history which antedates its admission into the Union in 1820. The celebrated iron district, in Iron and Saint Francois counties, which embraces Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob, contained a blast furnace before 1819, and possibly as early as 1812 or 1814, as we find in a prospectus of the Missouri Iron Company, written in 1837, the statement that "cannon balls, made from the Iron Mountain ore during the late war, after having been exposed for several years to the open atmosphere and rains, still maintained their original metallic lustre." The cannon balls referred to would probably be used for the defense of New Orleans. This furnace was called Springfield, and was situated in the vicinity of Iron Mountain, and about forty miles from the Mississippi river, but its exact location we cannot learn. It was in Washington county, as the county was then bounded. In 1858 Lesley says that "an old charcoal furnace was once in operation in township 33, range 4 north, half section 2" of Iron county. This may have been Springfield furnace. John Perry and Colonel Ruggles, whether jointly or severally the authority from which we quote does not state, operated Springfield furnace "for more than fifteen years" prior to 1837. In that year the furnace was in operation, when it was called "a small furnace." A forge was then attached to it, and "a blooming forge" was promised "the ensuing year."

Maramec furnace, in Phelps county, about sixty miles west of Iron Mountain, was built in 1826, and rebuilt many years afterwards. It is still standing but not in operation. At an early day a forge was added to the furnace, to convert its pig iron into bar iron, and this forge, with eight fires, is also still standing but not in operation, its product when last employed being charcoal blooms. In 1843 a rolling mill was added, but it was "abandoned after one year's trial, because of the sulphur in the stone coal obtained at a bank fourteen miles southeast."

In the census of 1840 Missouri is credited with two furnaces—one in Crawford county, and one in Washington county. It is also credited with three forges in Crawford county and one in Washington county. The furnace in Crawford county was Maramec—Phelps county not having been then organized, and the forges in Crawford county were probably attached to Maramec furnace. The furnace in Washington county was Springfield, and the forge was doubtless the one attached to this furnace. We do not hear of Springfield furnace and forge after this time.

In 1836 the remarkable iron-ore mountains already mentioned—Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob—attracted the attention of some Missouri capitalists, and in the fall of that year the Missouri Iron Company, with a nominal capital of $5,000,000, was formed to utilize their ores, the legislature chartering the company on December 31, 1836. In January, 1837, the company was fully organized under the presidency of Silas Drake, of Saint Louis, who was soon succeeded by J. L. Van Doren, of Arcadia, but active work in the development of its property does not appear to have been undertaken until some years afterwards, when a few furnaces were erected at the foot of the mountains by other companies. In 1846 a furnace was built at the southwest base of Little Iron Mountain, which was followed in 1850 by another furnace at the same place, and in 1854 by still another. In 1849 a furnace was built on the north side of Pilot Knob, which was followed in 1855 by another at the same place. These were all charcoal furnaces, and were exceptionally well managed in 1857, when they were visited and described by Charles B. Forney, of Lebanon, Pennsylvania. At that time two of the Iron Mountain furnaces and one of the Pilot Knob furnaces were blown with hot-blast.

In 1846 Moselle furnace was built at Moselle, in Franklin county, and in 1859 a furnace was built at Irondale, in Washington county—both furnaces to use charcoal. These, with the furnaces previously mentioned, appear to be all that were built in Missouri prior to 1860. It will be observed that they were all built in the same part of the state—southwest of Saint Louis.

The iron industry of Saint Louis appears to have had its commencement in 1850, when the Saint Louis, or Laclede, rolling mill was built. It was followed by the Missouri rolling mill, built in 1854; by the Allen rolling mill, built in 1855; by the Pacific rolling mill, built in 1856; and by Raynor's rolling mill, built in 1858. In 1880 there were seven rolling mills in Saint Louis, and there were no others in Missouri. One of these mills, the Vulcan, built in 1872, was connected with the Bessemer steel works of the Vulcan Steel Company, and rolled steel rails. Two other mills rolled light rails and bar iron. The Bessemer works of the Vulcan Steel Company were built in 1875 and 1876. The state had no other steel works in 1880.

Saint Louis had no blast furnaces until 1863, when the Pioneer furnace was built at Carondelet, to use coke. It was in blast in 1873, but in 1874 it was torn down and removed by the Pilot Knob Iron Company. In 1869 the Vulcan Iron Works, now called the Vulcan Steel Company, built two furnaces, which were followed in 1872 by another furnace built by the same company. In 1870 and 1872 the South Saint Louis Iron Company built two furnaces; in 1870 the Missouri Furnace Company built two; and in 1873 Jupiter furnace was built, but it was not put in blast until 1880. These eight furnaces were all built to use Illinois or Connellsville coke and Missouri ores.